

Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Cycles in Continental Sources, vol. 1

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Abstract

Fifteenth-century English music had a profound impact on mainland Europe, with several important innovations (e.g. the cyclic *cantus firmus* Mass) credited as English in origin. However, the turbulent history of the Church in England has left few English sources for this deeply influential repertory.

The developing narrative surrounding apparently English technical innovations has therefore often focussed on the recognition of English works in continental manuscripts, with these efforts most recently crystallised in Curtis and Wathey's 'Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: A List of the Surviving Repertory'. The focus of discussion until now has generally been on a dichotomy between English and continental origin. However, as more details emerge of the opportunities for cultural cross-fertilisation, it becomes increasingly clear that this may be a false dichotomy.

This thesis re-evaluates the complex issues of provenance and diffusion affecting the mid-fifteenth-century cyclic Mass. By breaking down the polarization between English and continental origins, it offers a new understanding of the provenance and subsequent use of many Mass cycles.

Contact between England and the continent was frequent, multifarious and quite possibly reciprocal and, despite strong national trends, there exists a body of work that can best be understood in relation to international cultural exchange. This thesis helps to clarify the

provenance of a number of Mass cycles, but also suggests that, for Masses such as the anonymous *Thomas cesus* and *Du cuer je souspier*, Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid*, and even perhaps Bedyngham's *Sine nomine*, cultural exchange is key to our understanding. This thesis also offers a more detailed overview of the chronology of fifteenth-century English Mass cycles and defines their various structural norms, as well as those Masses which depart from these.

Acknowledgments:

On the face of it, a three-year project seems relatively short. It is only now – with the end very much in sight – that I feel able to look back and realise just how much has been packed into those three years. That they have seemed to fly by is testament to the people I have met and worked with along the way. I hope they all already realise how important they were to the completion of this project, but I would like to thank some of them in print nonetheless.

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Abbreviations of Journals and Series:

AM – Acta Musicologica

CM – Camden Miscellany

CMM – Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae

DTO – Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich

DIAMM – Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music

EECM – Early English Church Music

EM – Early Music

EMH – Early Music History

FCLM – Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music

HR – Historical Research

HV – Hudební věda

JAMS – Journal of the American Musicological Association

JM – Journal of Musicology

JRMA – Journal of the Royal Musical Association

M&L – Music & Letters

MB – Musica Britannica

MD – Musica Disciplina

MMM – Monuments of Medieval Music

MRM – Monuments or Renaissance Music

MS – Musica Sacra

MSS – Medieval Sermon Studies

NGD – New Grove Dictionary

NH – Northern History

PMM – Plainsong and Medieval Music

PRMA – Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association

RBM – Revue Belge de Musicologie

RMARC – Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle

REED – Records of Early English Drama

RES – Review of English Studies

SS – Surtees Society

TMQ – The Musical Quarterly

*TVNM – Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse
Muziekgeschiedenis*

Music Sources:

AO	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, MS A ¹ D19
AS1519	Antiphonale ad Usum Sarum, Paris, 1519 (Print)
BcQ15	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico-Musicale, MS 16bis
Bu2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216
Br5557	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 5557 (Brussels Choirbook)
BEV DDHU 19/2	Beverley, Humberside Record Office (Beverley fragments)
CA11	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 11 (Cambrai Cathedral Choirbook)
Cfm369	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 369
GMaE A	Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, MS A
Eul123	Edinburgh, University Library, MS 123
EV.111.24	Madrid, Biblioteca del Monasterio El Escorial, MS V III 24
Kkar5	Kraków, Klastor OO. Karmelitów na Piasku (Carmelite Convent), Ms.5 (rkp. Perg. 13)
Kkar2	Kraków, Klastor OO. Karmelitów na Piasku (Carmelite Convent), Ms.2 (rkp. Perg. 14)
Las238	Lucca, Archivio Di Stato, MS 238 (Lucca Choirbook)
Lbl57950	London, British Library, MS Add.57950 (formerly Old Hall)

LEu1084	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084
Lbm6632	Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 6632
Mb49	Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, MS AD.XIV.49
Mbs14274	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 14274 (St Emmeram)
Md2269	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, MS 2269 (Librone 1)
Ob Add. C87*	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add.C87*
Pn1090	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France - Département des Manuscrits, MS lat. 1090
Ps47	Prague, Strahovska Knihovna, MS D.G.IV.47 (Strahov Codex)
Ranworth	Ranworth Antiphoner, St Helen's Church, Ranworth
Rvat14	Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Archivio della Cappella Sistina, MS 14
Rvat San Pietro B80	Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B80
Tr87	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS 1374 (Formerly 87)
Tr88	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS 1375 (Formerly 88)
Tr89	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS 1376 (Formerly 89)
Tr90	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS 1377 (Formerly 90)
Tr91	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS 1378 (Formerly 91)
Tr92	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS 1379 (Formerly 92)
Tr93	Trent, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 'BL'
VECap755	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLV
VECap759	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS DCCLIX

YSIE17

Ljubljana, Nadškofijski arhiv (Archiepiscopal Archives),
MS 18 (olim 17)

Archival Sources:

Guildhall library, London, MS 4889/PC.

National Archives: Public Record Office, PROB 11/15

NCC, will register, Heydon, f.199.

Introduction

The Mass Cycle as Cultural Phenomenon and as Object of Inquiry

Since the earliest scholarly studies on the subject, the cyclic Mass has been seen as a highly significant development in the course of Western music history. Many scholars have seen it as the beginning of a primarily compositional interest in coherence and in longer-term motivic and structural cogency – elements that later came to form the key aesthetic and ideological principles behind the enshrined canon of art music in the West. It is even tempting to see the cyclic Mass as the start of a long road that eventually leads to large-scale orchestral compositions in the form of ‘unified multi-movement works’ in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. As Andrew Kirkman has shown – just as for the symphonies of the Great Masters of the Western canon – it is ideas of organic unity, coherence and self-conscious control of both local and longer-term musical effect that seem to have been most valued by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century commentators on the renaissance Mass cycle.¹

Indeed, it is largely due to the diagnosis of this alleged organicism within what – in its way legitimately – can be seen as the first recognisably multi-movement polyphonic form, that the earliest scholars of this repertoire raised the Mass cycle to its place of historical and critical prominence. However, as Kirkman has argued, the fact that the cyclic Mass took its place as the pre-eminent genre of the renaissance

¹ Andrew Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3–25.

undoubtedly says more about the priorities of the deeply-rooted Hegelian thought of German scholars such as Ambros and Bukofzer than it does about those of the composers of the works in question.² As part of a teleological historical narrative culminating in the Germanic masterworks of the nineteenth century, the Mass cycle is a crucial staging post. As part of a new narrative, informed by more recent interpretation and historiography, what role is there now for the polyphonic Mass cycle in the larger context of musical and cultural history?

The early history of the cyclic Mass can perhaps best be seen as the application of the principles of the motet to the Ordinary of the Mass at both a practical liturgical and a musical level.³ This encompasses the fundamental idea of polyphonic elaboration for liturgical purposes (though motets themselves were paraliturgical) and the habit of grouping such movements together in manuscript collections ordered by liturgical use (i.e. by genre). It also embraces particular formal layouts and procedures.

It is the application of these structural principles across multiple Mass movements that many have seen as a form of nascent compositional unification. More recently, Kirkman has shown that the Mass cycle may not originally have been viewed as a unified work, but rather as an aggregation of individual pieces written on the same

² See, for instance, August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig: Leuckart, 1864; 3rd edn rev. Heinrich Reimann, 1891) and Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950). Kirkman (2010), 3–25, has a useful discussion of related historiography.

³ Richard Taruskin has noted an identity between the isorhythmic motet and the early cyclic Mass; see Richard Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnoys and the "L'homme Armé" Tradition', *JAMS*, 39 (1986), 255. However, the similarities are deeper than just the musical techniques and extend to liturgical similarities; see Kirkman (2010), 23–4.

foundation. Indeed, he notes that, at first, there seems to have been no generic distinction between the Mass and the motet, and that even a clear Mass cycle such as Power's *Alma redemptoris mater* is likely to have been considered as a group of related 'motets' (or Mass movements composed in the guise of motets).⁴

The term 'Mass cycle' does not refer solely to those Masses that use a *cantus firmus* and there is a very large repertoire of *Sine nomine* Mass cycles, too.⁵ Even if these cycles, by their very nature, do not copy the structural use of *cantus firmi* from the motet, they still borrow the idea of polyphonic elaboration for liturgical purposes as well as the formal use of mensural and textural schemes. Due to this factor, even the *Sine nomine* repertoire can be seen as closely related to the motet. Pre-compositional planning and layout are a marker of this.

One of the broad truisms regarding the Mass cycle is that the *cantus firmus* Mass originated in England early in the fifteenth century.⁶ However, this formal and technical approach may not have been the *fons et origo* of what eventually became known as the Mass cycle. It is perhaps tempting to suggest that compositional features such as shared motivic, mensural and textural characteristics between movements developed

⁴ Kirkman (2010), 23–4.

⁵ Whilst some of these may have once utilised a *cantus prius factus* that is as yet unrecognised, there are clearly many cycles that never utilised any pre-existent material structurally.

⁶ Andrew Kirkman, 'The Transmission of English Mass Cycles in the Mid to Late Fifteenth Century: A Case Study in Context', *M&L*, 75 (1994), 180.

from the *cantus firmus* Mass,⁷ eventually enabling Mass cycles to be written with or without the support of structural *cantus firmi*.

This is not borne out by the surviving repertoire, however, since it appears that the earliest surviving English Mass cycle is Benet's *Sine nomine*, the Sanctus and Agnus of which are preserved in Bologna Q15. Indeed, Edgar Sparks has even suggested that the 'motto Mass', i.e. a *Sine nomine* cycle that utilises a common motto in each movement, was a Franco-Flemish invention.⁸ He suggests that it was developed in contrast to the English *cantus firmus* Mass by composers such as Du Fay and Johannes de Lymburgia. More recently, Alexis Luko has argued that the English and continental *Sine nomine* traditions began simultaneously, but with different approaches.⁹ Importantly, it seems that this may well have been prior to the first *cantus firmus* Masses. Of course, it may simply be an accident of preservation that the earliest surviving cycles appear to be *Sine nomines*. However, it does seem clear that continental composers were writing *Sine nomine* cycles long before they began to compose *cantus firmus* Masses, in imitation of the English.

As well as questioning the generic distinction between Mass and motet, Kirkman challenges the sole explicit contemporary testament to the dominance of the cyclic Mass – Tinctoris's distinction of the Mass as

⁷ These techniques are also present in the Mass pair repertoire. It can sometimes be hard, if several movements of a cycle have been lost, to judge whether it is a damaged cycle or a complete pair.

⁸ Edgar Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420–1520* (California: University of California Press, 1963), 120.

⁹ Alexis Fleur Luko, *Unification and Varietas in the Sine Nomine Mass from Dufay to Tinctoris* (PhD Thesis: McGill University, 2008), 16–17 and 115–221.

cantus magnus, in contrast to *cantus mediocris* (the motet) and *cantus parvus* (the song). If viewed as a categorical expression – following Ciceronian models – of the need for rhetorical and stylistic appropriateness, rather than as an aesthetic ranking of genres, this poses many interesting questions.¹⁰ Combined with the realisation that contemporary writers, such as Tinctoris, clearly especially valued a composer's ability to create variety in a cycle, rather than the mere ability to unify it,¹¹ it becomes clear that modern priorities are likely to be very much at odds with those of late medieval and renaissance composers.

This is not to question the importance of the Mass cycle, since the copious survival of these works in sources stands as testament to precisely this. It is, however, important to note that the development of the Mass cycle was not a 'bolt from the blue' and that it deserves consideration in and on its own terms, not merely as a precursor to the work of composers born centuries later.

Whilst the Mass cycle may not have begun life as a unified and fully coherent genre in its own right, there appears to have been a significant

¹⁰ Kirkman (2010), 25–8. Kirkman also notes the use of terms other than *missa* to describe cycles until the 1450s and 60s. See 31–4.

¹¹ Bonnie Blackburn, 'A Lost Guide to Tinctoris's Teachings Recovered', *EMH*, 1 (1981), 87. Blackburn notes that 'Tinctoris advises the composer to seek variety: in note values, cadences, proportions, intervals, syncopations, imitation, pauses, ornamentation.' Moreover, she suggests that he follows precisely these rules in his own works 'with passages that move now in semibreves and minims, now in minims and semiminims, now with even quicker values predominating.' Kirkman notes that 'Tinctoris's testimony that diversity was, in his time, a primary attribute of music in general (and the Mass in particular) is the best guarantee we are likely to find that this was indeed the case'. He further notes that Paolo Cortese's *De cardinalatu libri tres* agrees on the importance of variation. See Kirkman (2010), 28–9.

shift in the years 1450–60 towards a clearer recognition of the concept of the Mass cycle. As Kirkman has noted, this seems to occur in the later parts of Trent 90, continuing then into Trent 88.¹² What might have prompted a change from considering the Mass cycle as an aggregate of different liturgical 'motets' on the texts of the Ordinary to seeing a single work described as *missa* and contiguously grouped as a sequence of linked movements within the sources is a matter of very particular interest. Whilst there is certainly a consistent approach toward the continuous copying of Mass cycles evident only from c.1450–60 (notably in Johannes Wiser's work in the Trent Codices), a single English cycle is copied in this way before this time, namely Power's *Alma redemptoris mater*. This is not much discussed in the literature, but will be discussed here, in chapter 2.

It seems, perhaps strangely, that there was a disjunction between the practice of composers and of scribes – the former electing to compose cycles before the latter were willing to copy them as such. What, then, was the impetus for composers to write these cycles? Certainly, the use of a single *cantus firmus* does offer the opportunity for an intertextual liturgical element and a way of 'imprinting' a specific idea upon the unchanging textual form of the Mass Ordinary – enabling appropriate veneration of a particular saint (for instance) throughout every part of the Ordinary rite. The liturgical appropriateness of these cycles is not always apparent. For example, quite what situation the anonymous *Te deum* and

¹² Kirkman (2010), 31–4.

Requiem eternam Masses would have been used in is very much open to question. The latter cycle utilises a *cantus firmus* from the Introit of the Requiem and yet cannot have been specifically used as a Requiem Mass since it includes a Gloria and Credo. Moreover, the *Sine nomine* repertoire naturally lacks such explicit liturgical references.

Certainly, the development of the cyclic Mass Ordinary setting comes from a deeply liturgical concern and yet also encompasses parallel musical developments. The *cantus firmus* within the cyclic Mass can be seen as a liturgical alternative to the use of Mass Propers, enabling the unchanging Ordinary to be given devotional, festive or personal liturgical particularisation. In this way, the earliest cycles can indeed be seen as aggregations of discrete 'liturgical motets', since they utilise precisely the same practice of *cantus firmus* as a means to polyphonic elaboration specifically in order to achieve liturgical particularisation.

The musical concerns of the motet also had a great effect on the development of the cyclic Mass, specifically on the structural layout of the *cantus firmus* and/or successions of mensurations. These elements can be seen as a precursor to the structural groundplans that were so often used in English Mass cycles. It could be argued that the use of structural groundplans gives an apparent privileging of the musical over the liturgical, since the essentially tri-partite nature of the liturgical text of the Kyrie, the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei is often treated with a bi-partite musical form. Moreover, the usual relative lengths of the movements (i.e. short Kyrie, long Credo) are often replaced by movements of relatively

equal proportion in the English tradition. This might be seen as coming from the practice of groundplan layout. However, we may also argue that this is actually a privileging of the liturgical and musical over the textual and 'poetic' nature of the composer's task. The application of the *cantus firmus* for reasons of liturgical particularisation has the musical effect of controlling elements of layout, structure and proportion – elements that deeply change the ways in which the music 'reacts to' the text of each movement within the Ordinary. Perhaps it is through the prism of this technique that the practices of setting prosula Kyries and telescoping the Credo text, both typically English features, can best be seen.¹³

Regardless of whether the Mass cycle was originally developed for musical or liturgical reasons, or some combination of the two, it is important for any discussion of the genre to take both aspects into account. It is equally important to note that the Mass cycle, in both liturgical and musical terms, must be considered as distinct from individual Mass movements and also from Mass pairs. Discussion of these musical forms can provide insight into the Mass cycle, but the liturgical and musical concerns of these genres are very different. Indeed, it is plausible to argue that the pre-compositional demands of writing a Mass cycle are significantly greater than for writing a single Mass movement or a pair. The choice of *cantus firmus* (where appropriate), the manner of its rhythmicisation, its embellishment and the disposition of all this structural

¹³ This is not to suggest that these practices occur only in the cyclic Mass repertoire, since the addition of prosula texts and the practice of telescoping can be found in single movements too.

melodic material within the voice ranges of the cycle are not the only pre-compositional elements. A composer must also consider motto openings and mensural and textural groundplans before beginning to approach the counterpoint in detail. Throughout this thesis, the focus will be upon matters of pre-compositional decisions such as these, as well as on melodic and contrapuntal analysis.

It must be questioned whether it is appropriate to see shared melodic, motivic, mensural and textural identity as defining for particular works. This is especially so given the above discussion of the importance placed on variety, rather than unity, by theorists such as Tinctoris. However, an interesting new reading of Tinctoris's discussion of *varietas* offers a new approach. In her recent doctoral thesis, Alexis Luko has suggested that the notions of *redictae* (repetitions) and *varietas* (variety) should be seen as dialectically linked elements.¹⁴ Whilst Luko couches much of her discussion in terms relating to unity, which still seem rather anachronistic, it is useful in that she notes that repetition is (perhaps obviously) necessary in order for variation to occur. It is proposed that the use of shared motivic, mensural and textural elements is absolutely crucial to this repertoire, and to notions of how its larger purpose can be fulfilled through being realised in musical terms. It is by using these kinds of elements that a composer could display his skill at *varietas*, and endow a Mass with the rich and copious musical character that was required. However, rather than using these elements to unify the cycle as a single

¹⁴ Luko (2008), 85–114.

entity, it is argued that each movement may well have been intended more as a kind of musical recasting of the same model in order to display skill in variation and invention.

Any discussion of the rise of the Mass cycle must begin in England. As is well known, the traumatic history of the church in England during the Reformation militates against the formation of an easy narrative. The great upheavals of the sixteenth century led to the destruction of the vast majority of English sources of polyphonic liturgical music.¹⁵ There are no complete manuscripts of early-fifteenth-century English polyphony, the most complete by far being the Old Hall Manuscript, dating from c.1415–20¹⁶ and containing a repertory that stretches from c.1370–1420.¹⁷ The only other large collections of fifteenth-century English polyphonic music are to be found in London Egerton 3307 and Cambridge Pepys 1236,¹⁸ dated c.1430–44¹⁹ and c.1460–5²⁰ respectively. Whilst there are many other English manuscripts extant, they are all very incomplete and often

¹⁵ Interestingly, Bent has suggested an alternative hypothesis for this. She suggests that it was caused by the 'plundering of obsolete parchment MSS by early sixteenth-century bookbinders and others [rather] than... the later ravages of the Reformation' (see, *FCLM*, II: *Four Anonymous Masses*, ed. Margaret Bent, EECM, 22 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1979), x). This does not seem entirely convincing since there seems to be no reason for English bookbinders to have been more destructive than their continental counterparts. Certainly, sources such as the Lucca Choirbook stand testament to this practice occurring in Europe and not only in England.

¹⁶ Margaret Bent, 'Old Hall Manuscript', in *NGD*.

¹⁷ Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, 'The Old Hall Manuscript – A Re-Appraisal and an Inventory', *MD*, 21 (1967), 119. For more on the context of Old Hall, see Roger Bowers, 'Some Observations on the Life and Career of Lionel Power', *PRMA*, 102 (1975/6), 103–27.

¹⁸ Stanley Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS, §IX, 3: Renaissance Polyphony: 15th-Century English Sources' in *NGD*.

¹⁹ Stanley Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS, §IX, 4: Renaissance Polyphony: Carol Manuscripts' in *NGD*.

²⁰ Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS, §IX, 3' in *NGD*.

fragmentary. English music continually permeates continental manuscripts of the period, however. Any view of the English tradition, therefore, is most often seen through the lens of continental scribes, meaning that we have to work hard to reconstruct the 'English view' of the English fifteenth-century Mass cycle.

Perhaps the most famous English Mass cycle of all in this period is the *Caput* Mass. This cycle is widely agreed to have spawned a new type of four-voice texture and seems to have influenced a whole generation of continental composers not only to write models of varying exactitude, but also to compose cyclic Masses in general.²¹

Following the arrival of *Caput* on the continent, at some point in the 1440s, interest not only in composing similar works but also in copying other English music appears to have exploded. In one sense, this is most advantageous for modern scholars, as many English Masses survive only as a direct result of this continental popularity. In another sense, the explosion of influence led to similar continental Mass cycles being written based on English techniques. Given the tendency of fifteenth-century music to be preserved anonymously, this can naturally lead to great

²¹ It is not only *Caput* that had an impact on continental music, but the new way of handling a four-voice texture that became prevalent after *Caput* does make its influence rather easier to trace. Much continental music for three voices is still written in a manner deeply indebted to English practice, though not specifically to *Caput*. What makes the Masses modelled exactly on the English *Caput* important (i.e. Ockeghem and Obrecht's *Caput* cycles) is the exceptional use of a Sarum chant in a continental cycle. This is clearly an expressly musical rather than liturgical interest. I argue that only one other continental Mass cycle makes use of a Sarum chant – the anonymous *Thomas cesus* Mass in San Pietro B80 which forms the final case study of the thesis.

confusion between earlier English Mass cycles and continental copies, preserved together in the same continental sources.

The problem of differentiating between English models and their continental imitations is not a new one. Charles Hamm was one of the earliest scholars, in 1968, to publish a list of anonymous English music found in continental sources.²² At much the same time, Brian Trowell was making similar conclusions in his doctoral thesis.²³ Their early work was expanded and amended by many later scholars, culminating in the work of Gareth Curtis and Andrew Wathey in 1994, when they published 'Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: A List of the Surviving Repertory'.²⁴ Initially commissioned to facilitate the publication of the repertoire in as full and appropriate a way as possible, this extended paper offered a comprehensive list of the works and sources, an approximate chronological banding system, and reference to any existing literature pertaining to the works' origins and status.

The influence of this publication and the larger project it represented is difficult to overstate. Curtis and Wathey's handlist necessarily forms a significant starting point for all work in this area, the present thesis included. The project, which focusses on the mid-century works, seeks specifically to resolve (or at least critique) the question of

²² Charles Hamm, 'A Catalogue of Anonymous English Music in Fifteenth-Century Continental Manuscripts', *MD*, 22 (1968), 47–76.

²³ Brian Trowell, *Music under the Later Plantagenets* (Doctoral Dissertation: University of Cambridge, 1960).

²⁴ Gareth Curtis and Andrew Wathey, 'Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: A List of the Surviving Repertory', *RMARC*, 27 (1994), 1–69.

provenance around a small number of still disputed works. More generally, it seeks to provide a wider discussion of the creative interaction between English and continental procedures and practices in the production of Mass cycles.

The Curtis and Wathey handlist should not be viewed as the last word on the subject of English liturgical music. Many works that are included in the 1994 list were (and still are) the cause of significant debate. In some cases, debates around the provenance of these works have since been resolved, whilst in others argument has only intensified. In 1994, the cycles whose provenance was in doubt were as follows: Pullois's *Sine nomine* (M33), *Meditatio cordis* (M36), Philippi's *Hilf und gib rat* (M37), *O rosa bella* (M41), Simon de Insula's *O admirabile commercium* (M58), *Christus surrexit* (M63) and *O quam suavis* (M64). Since then, further questions have been raised about the *Missa Rozel im gart'n* (M38), Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51), the anonymous *Thomas cesus* (M52), *Puisque m'amour* (M57), *Te deum* (M61) and *Rex dabit mercedem* (M66).²⁵ However, consensus now appears to have been reached that the Pullois Mass (M33) and the Masses *Hilf und gib rat* (M37), *O admirabile commercium* (M58) and *Christus surrexit* (M63),²⁶ are almost certainly not English.

²⁵ The questions raised are as follows: *Rozel im gart'n* is listed as an Austrian Mass in Rebecca Gerber, 'An Assessment of Johannes Wiser's Scribal Activities in the Trent Codices', *MD*, 46 (1992) 8, fn. 24. *So ys emprentid*, whilst never having had its provenance questioned is clearly ascribed to a continental composer. Andrew Kirkman, in private correspondence, has questioned the provenance of the *Thomas cesus* Mass and Bob Mitchell has rejected the English provenance of *Te deum* in private correspondence.

²⁶ Reinhard Strohm, 'The Identification of English Sacred Music in 15th-Century Sources', unpublished paper submitted to EECM Fifteenth-Century Sub-Committee, 1988, rejects

Rather than removing the works that are now believed to be of continental origin from the discussion *en masse*, it seems much more useful to include them within the larger discussion as 'English influenced' or 'English derived'. As will be shown throughout this thesis, there are rather more works than previously recognised that occupy an intermediate position somewhere between absolute English and absolute continental origin. A breaking down of the English-continental polarisation seems conducive to a better and more fruitful understanding of many of these Mass cycles, their characteristics and their apparent contexts. Indeed, as will be shown, even a Mass considered as securely English as Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) has indicators of continental practice, whatever this might mean in the given and very specific context of Bedyngham as a known musician with a biography who is not known to have travelled to the continent. Further to this, as it is on precisely the nature of musical interrelations and exchanges that this thesis focusses, it seems appropriate to discuss those very Masses that survive as concrete evidence of such a process.

This thesis attempts to take as comprehensive a look as possible at the edited cyclic Mass repertoire inventoried in the 1994 handlist, comparing it to specific and appropriate examples of the continental

the Pullois Mass as being English. *Hilf und gib rat* and *Christus surrexit* are rejected in Reinhard Strohm, 'Messzyklen über Deutsche Lieder in den Trienter Codices', *Liedstudien—Wolfgang Osthoff zum 60. Geburtstag*, Martin Just and Reinhard Wiesend (eds.) (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1989), 77–106. Curtis and Wathey noted in 1994 that the 'de Insula' in Simon de Insula, who composed *O admirabile commercium*, referred to Lille, rather than England.

music of the time. The range and scope of the thesis will not be limited by any means to those Masses that have previously been the subject of debate regarding their provenance. Lack of dissent should not necessarily be taken as proof of English origin, and there are some continental cycles previously not discussed that seem to display clear English characteristics.

Before a thorough, broad-based review of English Mass cycles can be undertaken, we must consider what we mean exactly when we describe a piece as 'English'. At first, this question may seem rather trite, but it is actually of prime importance. Attempts to uncover English provenance in the fifteenth-century Mass cycle repertory are not always viewed in a favourable light.²⁷ Perhaps such an approach is seen as a peculiar and somewhat downbeat form of cultural imperialism – an attempt to 'claim' patronage over any music seen to have artistic merit in what was a historically enormously important era. This, obviously, is not the intention. It is hoped that a fuller description of what is meant by Englishness or by English character and provenance, and a shift in focus that places musical inter-relations and cultural exchange at the forefront, will help to avoid this danger. This thesis seeks to offer instead a more detailed, and hopefully more realistic, picture of the complex network of details that go to make up the human and institutional realities of what we rather abstractly refer to as 'transmission' or 'dissemination'.

²⁷ See, for instance, Gerald Montagna, 'Johannes Pullois in the Context of His Era', *RBM*, 42 (1988), 110 fn. 72, who states 'I am not sympathetic to the trend by which anything influenced by English style or notation gets classified as English in origin.'

The problem of defining or even just suggesting English provenance rests partly on the international careers of the composers of the time. Although there were no doubt very many such musicians, most are unknown to us. Prime English examples are the composer Robert Morton²⁸ or the composer and theorist John Hothby.²⁹ Both were born in England and yet spent most of their careers on the continent. In the case of Morton, the style of his secular music is often seen as Burgundian rather than English, though it is true that none of his sacred music survives. John Hothby, on the other hand, has a more recognisably English style. As indicated above, it must be assumed that these examples were complemented by many other English singers and composers who worked in a great many areas of continental Europe. Some of these, like Morton and Hothby, may well have spent most or all of their careers abroad.

If there were significant numbers of English composers working on the continent, then the techniques, practices and styles of their homeland must have been of some degree of (no doubt varying) significance to their personal style. Equally, as will be shown later, we cannot rule out the possibility of English establishments existing on the continent – utilising both English and continental singers and composers to supply their musical needs. Clearly, in these circumstances, the issue of English provenance becomes a matter of reading and interpretation and, perhaps,

²⁸ See David Fallows, 'Morton [Mourton, Moriton], Robert' in *NGD*.

²⁹ See Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Hothby [Hocby, Octobi, Ottobi, Otteby], John [Johannes]' in *NGD*.

also less important. What seems key to an understanding of this repertoire, instead, is an appreciation of the complex patterns of cultural exchange and mutual relations between composers, scribes and institutions that govern the apparent explosion of English music on the continent from the early and mid fifteenth century, and its subsequent influence on a whole extended generation of continental composers.

The principal aim of this thesis is to assess the kind and range of influence of the mid-fifteenth-century English Mass cycles on the continent, and to clarify or at least critique the provenance of several Masses of disputed origin. In doing so, it is crucial to establish some of the defining features of English and continental Mass cycles at that time. Chapter 1 offers an outline of the routes of transmission between England and the continent that may have been responsible for the availability of English music to continental scribes. It questions the idea that English music should be seen as insular, instead seeking to demonstrate that the larger patterns of interaction between English and continental music are often anything but 'specific and incident-based', as has sometimes been maintained.³⁰ Indeed, it is clear that there were a great many English musicians and even English institutions on the continent that were active throughout the fifteenth century. English practice would thus have been to some extent integrated, as a matter of course, within the spectrum of musical provision for chapel and other singing institutions across Europe.

³⁰ See Andrew Wathey, 'Dunstable in France', *M&L*, 67 (1986), 3.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the continental sources within which English music is found, enabling a better understanding of exactly when and alongside which continental Masses English cycles were copied. It also provides examples of the complex patterns of dissemination that English Mass cycles underwent once they had reached the continent, travelling 'between scribes' or 'between institutions' and being copied from one continental manuscript to another.

In chapter 3, the focus turns to defining the works comprised within the band II Mass cycle grouping. Due to the difficulties of building anything more than an approximate chronology for fifteenth-century English works, much of this definition will be analytical in a broad sense. It will be shown that the band II repertoire differs from the band I repertoire in terms of distribution of voices and the application of what will be defined as mensural and textural groundplans. It will also be argued that there is a clear 'intermediate phase' between bands I and II. This focus on the shifts in English compositional process will be instrumental in recognising English influence in continental cycles.

The focus of chapters 4 and 5 is on the large-scale comparison of English Masses with carefully selected continental comparands. Chapter 4 focusses on the Kyries of Mass cycles. It demonstrates that English composers wrote either non-prosula, curtailed prosula or full prosula Kyries, and that each of these types followed relatively strict compositional models in terms of layout. By contrast, continental composers do not seem to alter their compositional approach to Kyrie

movements. Subsidiary but important arguments relating to Kyries are also dealt with in some detail within this chapter.

Chapter 5 shifts the approach toward several other elements, including textual omission and telescoping in the Credo, the placement of mensural changes in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, mensural schemes and textural groundplans more generally, and the size and scale of a Mass cycle as a whole. The clear trends for both repertorial groups are outlined so as to identify those cycles that do not follow them.

Finally, chapter 6 will provide two case studies, each of an anonymous cycle: the supposedly continental *Du cuer je souspier* Mass found in Tr89 and the apparently English *Thomas cesus* Mass found in San Pietro B80. It is argued that the *Du cuer je souspier* Mass is a hitherto unrecognised English work, though one quite possibly written by an English composer working on the continent. Conversely, this thesis seeks to demonstrate that the *Thomas cesus* Mass has every indication of being a continental work, albeit one quite possibly composed for an English institution on the continent – not least because the *Thomas cesus* chant itself is quite certainly the Sarum one, a point not sufficiently stressed hitherto.³¹ This thesis also argues against Christopher Reynolds' suggestion that Caron may have composed the work. These two case studies illustrate the fact that the apparent English-continental polarisation (and the uncritical assumptions based on it) can most

³¹ This offers a point of contact with the continental imitations of the *Caput* Mass which faithfully use its Sarum melisma.

productively be broken down and argued for, in greater depth, on a detailed *ad hoc* basis.

Chapter 1

England and Europe: Insularity and Cultural Exchange

Introduction

English music of the fifteenth century is often described as 'insular'.¹

However, much is also made of its wide continental dissemination and its strong and long-lasting influence on the major continental composers of the period.² Surely, then, the supposed insularity of English music must be challenged. Indeed, as this chapter will show, there was a great deal of cultural exchange between England and the continent during the fifteenth century.

It has long been believed that the exchange of music between England and the continent was a largely one-way process,³ and there is little direct evidence to the contrary. However, given that much fifteenth-century English music is found solely in continental sources, the lack of continental works in English manuscripts should not be surprising. Indeed, the argument is curiously circular. It is believed that little continental music was copied in England and therefore that all anonymous music in English sources must be English.

¹ See, for instance, the title of Reinhard Strohm's 1988 paper, Reinhard Strohm, "'Insular Music on a Continental Island'", English Repertory and Imitation of English Idioms in a Continental Cathedral of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', *Royal Musical Association November Meeting* (London: November 1988).

² Margaret Bent, for instance, notes that '[t]he demand on the Continent for English music is attested not only by the much-quoted remarks of Martin le Franc and Tinctoris but also by the quantities in which it reached (especially) north-Italian MSS, and by its evident impact on the style of Dufay and his contemporaries.' (*FCLM*, II, x).

³ For example, Curtis and Wathey (1994), 1, states that 'Music in English sources ... is in general accepted without comment as English'.

As this chapter will demonstrate, very many English musicians and composers were present on the continent throughout the century and it seems almost unthinkable that they would never have brought back any continental music. There are two continental composers represented in the Old Hall Manuscript – Antonio Zacara da Teramo and Matteo de Sancto Johanne.⁴ For both of these composers, a rationale for the presence of their music within English sources has been sought. The Gloria by Antonio Zacara da Teramo, which survives anonymously in Old Hall, is believed to have been imported via the Council of Constance, whilst Matteo de Sancto Johanne is believed to have been in England himself in 1369.⁵

Despite these small but notable examples from the early fifteenth century, there are few identifiable continental works found in English sources later in the century.⁶ However, the anonymous survival of Zacara's Gloria suggests that other anonymously preserved works may be of continental origin. Indeed, it is suggested here that the lack of attributed continental works in English sources is not definitive proof of their absence in later-fifteenth-century England. This is especially the case given the fragmentary nature of English sources.

⁴ Bent, 'Old Hall Manuscript' in *NGD*.

⁵Andrew Wathey: 'The Peace of 1360–1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations', *EMH*, 9 (1990), 148–56.

⁶ This is not to say that there are none. As Peter Wright notes, *Vostre tres doux regart* is mentioned twice in the poetry of Skelton and its tenor is found in the Ritson and Harley manuscripts. See Peter Wright, 'Binchois and England: Some Questions of Style, Influence, and Attribution in his Sacred Works', in *Binchois Studies*, Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (eds.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 87–8.

Even if more continental music found its way to England in the mid fifteenth century than is currently appreciated, for the present, the argument will focus on the dissemination of English music, musicians and musical ideas on the continent, rather than *vice-versa*.

It perhaps makes sense for any discussion of cultural exchange to begin by looking at the routes by which English music might have reached the continent. A variety of different forms of evidence, ranging from surviving manuscripts to evidence from contemporary writings, stands testament to these routes of influence. This chapter focusses on some of the seemingly most important routes of influence, namely Burgundy (1.1), France (1.2), merchants and the Confraternity of the Merchant Adventurers (1.3), diplomatic and ecumenical meetings, (1.4) and religious orders and universities (1.5). By understanding where and how English music became available on the continent, its influence there can perhaps be better understood.

1.1 Burgundy

Undoubtedly at the forefront of musical taste in the fifteenth century, the court of Burgundy is, in many ways, an obvious place to start the discussion. By 1445, the Burgundian court chapel was considered 'amongst the largest and best maintained chapels that could be found anywhere',⁷ and many of the most famous composers of the day were numbered among its members. Despite the relative paucity of surviving

⁷ Craig Wright and David Fallows, 'Burgundy' in *NGD*.

sources from the court during the period, a clearly Burgundian repertory (albeit a secular one) can be found in manuscripts from regions ranging from France (the Loire Valley chansonniers) to Naples (the Mellon and Escorial Chansonniers).

At the start of the fifteenth century, the ruler of Burgundy was Philip the Good. Whilst early in his rule he was allied with England against the French, these good diplomatic relations turned to war in 1436–9. From 1439, Burgundian relations with England were strictly neutral with the only departure from this state of affairs being a brief diplomatic crisis in 1449. After English pirates raided Dutch and Flemish merchants, Philip the Good retaliated by arresting English merchants within his lands and confiscating their property, whilst readying the ducal fleet for possible action.⁸ However, hostilities did not resume and Burgundy did not join the French in their war against the English.

Despite Philip the Good's rule, for the most part, being characterised by neutrality towards England, the English born composer Robert Morton was still a member of his court chapel from 1457.⁹ Interestingly, David Fallows finds relatively few traces of English style in the works of Morton.¹⁰ This is unsurprising as Morton spent almost his entire career in Burgundy and must have been distanced from the

⁸ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, vol. 3 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 110.

⁹ Fallows, 'Morton [Mourton, Moriton], Robert' in *NGD*.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

evolving compositional trends in England. Indeed, it is questionable whether one should view him as an English or Burgundian composer.

There are very few manuscripts surviving from Burgundy, especially from the rule of Philip the Good. The only three with a demonstrable link to his court are the chansonnier E-E V.111.24 and the chansonnier fragments D-Mbs cgm 902 and Mus.Ms.9659.¹¹ Between them, these manuscripts contain one work by Bedyngnam, one by Dunstaple and one by Morton. This does not seem particularly indicative of a large degree of influence from England at this time.¹² Certainly, the majority of the composers present in these manuscripts are of Burgundian origin.

The reign of Charles the Bold (1467–77), however, marked a dramatic change in the relationship between England and Burgundy and an enormous upturn in the amount of cultural exchange between the two countries.¹³ A fluent English speaker,¹⁴ Charles the Bold signed a treaty with England in 1465, which was cemented with his marriage to Margaret of York in 1468.¹⁵ It may have been for this wedding that the initial core

¹¹ Wright and Fallows, 'Burgundy' in *NGD*.

¹² It must be noted, however, that two of these three sources are fragmentary and there may well originally have been more English music contained within these sources.

¹³ It must be noted that Charles the Bold may well have had his own English musicians from well before he became duke. Strohm suggests that his entourage was distinct from that of his father from at least 1457, that the dukes of Burgundy kept a separate 'domestic' chapel and that this included the Englishman John Stewart. See Reinhard Strohm, 'European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century', *EMH*, 1 (1981), 310.

¹⁴ Marcel Brion, *Charles le Temeraire* (Paris: Hachette, 1947), 246, fn. 10.

¹⁵ Sylvia Kenney, *Walter Frye and the 'Contenance Angloise'* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), 14.

of the manuscript Br5557, consisting of Masses by the English composers Frye, Plummer and Cox, was written.¹⁶

The nucleus of the Brussels Choirbook, comprising the first four gatherings of the manuscript, consists of five English Masses believed to have nuptial connotations. As Wegman has argued, the historiated initials decorating the openings of these Masses give a remarkable insight into the original purpose of the manuscript. Two of the five illuminations even appear to make specific reference to the wedding. The illumination that decorates the initial K of the Kyrie of Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1) shows the personal sigil of Charles the Bold, the 'Fusil' alongside the white rose of the house of York and a Dachshund, the heraldic symbol of marital faith. Likewise, the illumination from the initial E of the Gloria of Frye's *Flos Regalis* (M30) shows a noblewoman and a unicorn. Since it was believed that the unicorn could be tamed only by a virgin, images of unicorns were extremely common marital gifts.¹⁷

As well as evidence from the manuscript illumination, there are musical links between many of the Masses and the occasion of the wedding. The opening Mass of the nucleus uses *Summe trinitati* as a *cantus firmus*. This responsory is for the feast of the Trinity and was often used for the reception of a king and queen – quite possibly a reference to Charles the Bold's well-known royal pretensions.¹⁸

¹⁶ Rob. C. Wegman, 'New Data Concerning the Origins and Chronology of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557', *TVNM* (1986), 6.

¹⁷ For a full description and commentary on all of the illuminations see *Ibid.*, 6–11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 18 fn. 25.

Flos regalis (M30) may also be linked to the occasion of the wedding, though there is still debate over the identity of the *cantus firmus* of this Mass. According to Sylvia Kenney, it may be the antiphon *Flos regalis etheldreda*. Kenney believed that the 'Walter cantor' mentioned in the 1443–4 and 1452–3 records of Ely Cathedral, of which Etheldreda is patron saint, could be identified with the composer. She suggested that the Mass was therefore originally written for the veneration of the patron saint of Frye's home cathedral.¹⁹ Sadly, no copy of this antiphon has been found, so it is impossible to verify this.

Wegman proposes an alternative identification for the *cantus firmus*. He suggests that it is based instead on the responsory for the feast of St Udalricus, *Flos regalis sanguinius*. This ties into the occasion of the royal wedding as the feast day of St Udalricus was the day after the wedding. However, as the responsory in question was used for the vigil, it would actually have been performed on the same day as the wedding.²⁰

Wegman further suggests a connection between the last of Frye's Masses, *Nobilis et pulcra* (M31), and the marriage. This is because there are two other English pieces based on chants for the feast of St Catherine of Alexandria that have connections with Royal marriages, possibly due to a connection with the mystical marriage of St Catherine to the infant Jesus.²¹

¹⁹ Kenney (1964), 19–21.

²⁰ Wegman (1986), 11.

²¹ Ibid., 18 fn. 25.

Walter Frye may even have had a personal link with Margaret of York as his patron was Anne of Exeter, her sister.²² Indeed, the entirety of Walter Frye's Mass repertoire is found in only the Brussels and Lucca Choirbooks. Strohm, as will be discussed later, has suggested that these two manuscripts may be linked in some way. He has convincingly demonstrated that the Lucca Choirbook originated in Bruges, nearby to Brussels and another important Burgundian town. He also notes the fact that this manuscript and the Brussels Choirbook carefully avoid a shared repertoire, whilst picking similar music.²³ If there is indeed some link between the two manuscripts, then it is possible that there may be some further link between the court of Burgundy and Walter Frye, via Margaret of York's sister, Anne of Exeter.²⁴

Indeed, Margaret of York may well be an important figure here. It seems obvious to suggest that English music might have been an important part of her life even whilst living in Burgundy. The connection between the Brussels Choirbook and her wedding suggests that she had

²² Brian Trowell, 'Frye [ffrye, ffrye, Frey, Frie], Walter' in *NGD*.

²³ Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 141.

²⁴ Rob Wegman has recently challenged his own dating of the manuscript in private correspondence with Anne Walters Robertson, cited in 'The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*', *JM*, 27 (2010), 386. This new information, pertaining to the dating of the initial nucleus, apparently overturns the possibility that the manuscript could have been intended for the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, suggesting instead a date of 1462–4. The reasons for this new dating have not been given in the aforementioned article, nor have they been published since. Attempts to elicit an explanation through private correspondence with Rob Wegman have been as yet unsuccessful. It is therefore hard to judge the strength of these arguments. However, even if the manuscript was not intended specifically for the wedding, it is still testament to cultural exchange between the two countries. Indeed, it suggests a more thorough and complete cultural exchange, divorced from the immediate reaction to specific and individual political events.

an interest in English music and, given that the manuscript was used quite extensively,²⁵ the possibility of her having had an English chapel within which to use the choirbook seems attractive. Indeed, there are clear examples of noblewomen who employed their own chapels.

Katherine of Valois appears to have kept her own chapel, at least in 1422–34,²⁶ Dunstaple worked for Queen Joan of England in 1427–36,²⁷ and Margaret of York's own sister, Anne of Exeter, employed Walter Frye for many years.²⁸

However, when looking at the above examples, it is important to take into account both the nature of the chapel in the fifteenth century and the position of noblewomen. The court chapel was an important public institution that was as much to do with power and display as with devotion – very much the domain of the ruling man. Noblewomen, even ruling noblewomen, rarely appeared in the public eye, and thus any chapel belonging to Margaret of York would instead be a private household chapel for personal devotion and quite probably not large enough to house a choir.²⁹

With this in mind, it seems sensible to re-evaluate the above examples. Interestingly, each of these cases has one important element in common. The date at which it is first noted that Katherine of Valois

²⁵ Wegman (1986), 15–16.

²⁶ W. H. Grattan Flood, 'The Beginnings of the Chapel Royal, an Unwritten Page of English Musical History', *M&L*, 5 (1924), 89.

²⁷ Judith Stell and Andrew Wathey, 'New Light on the Biography of John Dunstable?', *M&L*, 62 (1981), 60–3.

²⁸ Trowell, 'Frye [ffry, ffrye, Frey, Frie], Walter' in *NGD*.

²⁹ Tim Shephard's advice on this point has been invaluable.

kept a chapel (1442) is that at which she became dowager queen after the death of Henry V.³⁰ Similarly, the reference to Dunstaple being in the employ of Queen Joan is made only after the death of Henry IV.³¹ Further, whilst it is suggested that Walter Frye may have been employed by Anne of Exeter from the late 1450s, there is no documentary evidence of this.³² Indeed, the only evidence of his employment with Anne of Exeter is an annuity paid from late 1464, precisely the year in which she separated from her husband.³³

It appears that cases of noblewomen keeping chapels occur only after the death or divorce/separation of their husbands. At such times, they would have inherited certain elements of the public-face of their late husband's role. The possibility of Margaret of York having kept her own chapel should not be rejected too quickly, therefore, while bearing in mind that this was likely to have been only after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477.

This provides a fascinating new context for the addition of an anonymous Mass to the later parts of the Brussels Choirbook (ff. 90^v–9). Kirkman has demonstrated a remarkable affinity between this Mass and a Kyrie by Frye in the Lucca Choirbook. He further notes its general proximity to Frye's style and convincingly attributes it to him.³⁴ Most

³⁰ Flood (1924), 89.

³¹ Stell and Wathey (1981), 60–3.

³² Trowell, 'Frye [ffry, ffrye, Frey, Frie], Walter' in *NGD*.

³³ *Ibid*.

³⁴ Andrew Kirkman, 'The Style of Walter Frye and an Anonymous Mass in Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Manuscript 5557', *EMH*, 11 (1992), 191–221.

interestingly, Wegman suggests that this Mass was copied on paper dating from c.1466–76.³⁵ Since Wegman suggests that the relevant layer of the manuscript was copied after the initial nucleus,³⁶ it must date from 1469–76.

Wegman further notes that paper could have been used up to four years after the date suggested by watermark evidence.³⁷ Therefore, the Mass could have been copied around the time that Margaret of York may have inherited the Burgundian court chapel, especially since Charles the Bold died in the January of 1477. If the Brussels Choirbook did remain in use by the Burgundian court chapel, then it is interesting that the only other English work to be added to the manuscript was copied around this time.

Further to the evident use of English liturgical works in Burgundy, there is evidence of English texted secular songs too. Of course, the focus of this thesis is on Mass cycles, but any evidence of the performance of secular song in English is highly indicative of a deep interest in English culture as well as of the presence of routes by which music could enter Burgundy.

Whilst no English-texted songs survive in Burgundian sources, there is a more general paucity of secular songs in these manuscripts. However, it seems that the peculiar practices of Neapolitan scribes have provided

³⁵ Wegman (1986), 13–14. The structure of the Brussels Choirbook will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

indirect evidence of a tradition of singing secular songs in English within the Burgundian court.

In total, five English songs that retain a vestige of English text survive in continental manuscripts. Four of these appear in the Escorial A and Mellon manuscripts, which contain an almost exclusively Burgundian repertory, but were compiled in Naples in the mid-1460s and mid-1470s respectively.³⁸ There is no evidence, however, of a link between Naples and England, and Atlas' inventory from 1440–1503 of the singers and chaplains of the court of Naples³⁹ suggests that there were no recognisably English members. Rather, Atlas notes that Neapolitan sources of the 1460s contained mainly a Franco-Burgundian repertory. From 1470 until the 1480s, this was gradually augmented with more Neapolitan, Spanish and Italian pieces.⁴⁰ It seems unlikely, therefore, that the English songs came directly from England and highly probable that they came from Burgundy instead.

Interestingly, Neapolitan scribes appear to be almost unique in preserving the original language of works, rather than creating *contrafacta*, resulting in a great many works texted in Italian, Spanish, French and Netherlandish. This pattern of scribal activity is utterly different from that of other areas. Indeed when these songs were transmitted into manuscripts from other regions, the scribes invariably

³⁸ See Leeman L. Perkins, 'Introduction' in *The Mellon Chansonier*, vol. 1 (edition) ed. Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979) and Allan W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 118–19.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 87–97.

⁴⁰ Atlas (1985), 118–23.

gave them alternative French or Latin texts. A good example of this is the song *Myn hertis lust* by Bedyngnam, preserved as *Grant temps* and *Ave verum* in various non-Neapolitan sources.⁴¹

It is most likely, therefore, that the four English songs came to Naples from Burgundy with English texts. It is clear from the almost incomprehensible texting of the pieces that the Neapolitan scribe did not speak English and knew of no one who could. However, there must have been English-speaking scribes and singers, and a cultural context for this music within Burgundy. Without this, the works surely would have been made into *contrafacta* before they ever reached Naples.

Overall, Burgundy appears to have been an important point of contact between English music and the continent from the mid-to-late 1460s. English music occupies a very prominent place in the Brussels Choirbook, one of the few surviving Burgundian Court manuscripts of this period. It is possible to dismiss this evidence as indicative of nothing more than a brief incident-specific moment of cultural interaction. However, the clear evidence of use in the manuscript belies this, as does the continuous addition of new material to it for several years. Instead, it seems to provide evidence of English Mass music being used for a long time within the Burgundian Court.

⁴¹David Fallows, *A Catalogue Of Polyphonic Songs 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 59. Only one other song with vestigial English text can be found in continental sources of the period, 'Agwillare Habeth Standeth', which survives as an *unicum* in Tr88. This work is unusual and believed by Gerber to be instrumental. See *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent: Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Codex 1375 (olim 88)*, Rebecca Gerber (ed.), MMM (University of Chicago Press, 1998), 80.

The possibility that Margaret of York would have inherited her husband's court chapel further supports a narrative of cultural interaction. If the Brussels Choirbook did remain in use for the Burgundian court chapel, the addition of a further English Mass to the manuscript around the date of the death of Charles the Bold takes on additional importance. Further to the evidence of English liturgical music being used in Burgundy, it seems that English texted songs may even have been sung in the Burgundian Court – a testament to the degree of cultural interaction between England and Burgundy.

1.2 France

One obvious point of entry for English music to the continent must be those lands within France that were held by England. Whilst much of France changed hands during the Hundred Years War, it is only the final third of the war (from 1415–53) that is particularly germane to the discussion within this thesis. After the siege of Orléans in 1429, the English controlled all of Brittany, Normandy and Champagne as well as parts of Gascony and Aquitaine. Even after the Hundred Years War, Calais was held until 1558.⁴²

As Andrew Wathey notes, 'English magnates holding military captaincies were present in northern France in large numbers for the whole period of the occupation.'⁴³ Further, it was common for court

⁴² David Grummitt, *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England, 1436–1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 1.

⁴³ Wathey (1986), 3.

chapels to accompany their rulers into battle.⁴⁴ However, Wathey suggests that 'there is little beyond their [the magnates'] presence to suggest that the number of household chapels was at any time very great.'⁴⁵ He suggests that 'the chapel of the regent may well have been the sole large and regularly constituted chapel in Normandy and the sole substantial body of English musicians'⁴⁶ but that the royal chapel and that of other nobles may have made isolated appearances for state events. Despite this assertion, it seems that there are actually quite a number of English chapels within France.

One of the most important chapels was that of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant General in France and Normandy. The household accounts survive from 1418, giving the opportunity to trace the chapel over a period of time. When the accounts begin, it appears that the

⁴⁴ For instance, Charles the Bold took his chapel to war with him. Both Hayne and Basin were present at the siege of Nance and Busnoys at the Siege of Neuss; see Paula Higgins, "'In hydraulis' Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnoys', *JAMS*, 39 (1986), 40 and 42. Indeed, it appears that music was often performed in the siege camps, as reported by Johanne Pietro Panigarola: 'Even though he [the duke] is in camp, every evening he has something new sung in his quarters; and sometimes his lordship sings, although he does not have a good voice; but he is skilled in music.'; see Higgins (1986), 60.

⁴⁵ Wathey (1986), 4.

⁴⁶ Ibid. There is indeed significant evidence regarding the presence of the Chapel Royal in France. Singers from the Chapel Royal, under the direction of Robert Gilbert celebrated in France the English victory in 1415 (see Flood (1924), 87). Toward the end of the *Liber metricus de Henrico V*, it is stated that the king called for the entire chapel to celebrate Easter in France in 1418 (see Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 41). When the English took Rouen, in January 1419, the king's entry to the city ended with his meeting of the Chapel Royal under Robert Gilbert and John Pyamour at the Cathedral for a choral celebration (see Flood (1924), 88.) The Chapel Royal attended the king in Normandy in the October of 1419 and six further singers of polyphony were recruited in England to join them there (See Curry (2000), 105.) and it seems that there they remained through 1420 as Pyamour was commissioned to bring new boys for the chapel to the 'king's presence in the Duchy of Normandy' (see Flood (1924), 88). Indeed, the Chapel Royal may well have assisted in the wedding of Henry V and Katherine of Valois at Troyes in the same year. (See Flood (1924), 88). Overall, the complete Chapel Royal was in France for only two years, but some members were there for at least five.

household chapel (including Leonel Power) was mainly still present in England, serving the Duchess of Clarence. However, part of the chapel was serving in Normandy. In October 1419, Clarence judged his position safe enough to bring his wife and his remaining chapel members, including Power, to France. For fifteen months, the chapel served throughout Normandy and Champagne. During this time, not only did the full chapel serve in France but also at least five other singers were sent to join them from England.⁴⁷ In 1421, the Duke of Clarence was killed and his household chapel was dispersed.

Upon the death of the Duke of Clarence, The Duke of Bedford became the commander of the English in France until 1432. Bowers suggests that his chapel would likewise have spent time on the continent, especially in Paris and Rouen.⁴⁸ Dunstaple appears to have worked in the service of the Duke of Bedford and, in 1437, was granted lands in Normandy that had previously been Bedford lands.⁴⁹ Bowers even suggests that Power may have joined Dunstaple in the service of the duke and also have been present with the chapel in Normandy.⁵⁰ The chapel of the Duke of Bedford was granted special dispensation for using the rite of Sarum but also retained the employment of some local chaplains.⁵¹ This is an important point as it provides a context for monophonic and

⁴⁷ Roger Bowers, 'Some Observations on the Life and Career of Lionel Power', *PRMA*, 102 (1975), 108.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴⁹ Margaret Bent, 'Dunstaple [Dunstable, Dunstapell, Dumstable, Donstaple, etc.], John' in *NGD*.

⁵⁰ Bowers (1975), 110.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 5. fn. 18.

polyphonic music in France following the Sarum rite, whilst also allowing continental clergy to encounter this music.

It also seems likely that Richard Beauchamp,⁵² royal lieutenant from 1437 to 1439, may have brought his entire household to France in 1437. This suggestion is based on the chronicles of John Benet, which note that Beauchamp brought his wife with him to France.⁵³ In the parallel case of the Duke of Clarence, it was indeed at the point at which his wife joined him that the rest of the chapel also travelled. Another incumbent of an important office, John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal, is also believed to have brought a small chapel to France in 1415.⁵⁴

William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was another important English magnate within the English forces in Normandy. Whilst there are no surviving records of English musicians within his chapel, this case provides perhaps more important evidence, that of continental composers being in the employ of the English in France. It is believed that Binchois worked for the Duke of Suffolk before he joined the Burgundian chapel, composing the rondel *Ainsi que a la foiz m'y souvient* for him in 1427.⁵⁵ Binchois is often considered to have been a composer particularly influenced by English music and so it is perhaps significant that he appears to have been in English service. As previously mentioned, Binchois' music was clearly known in England, having been mentioned

⁵² For more on Beauchamp, see Alexandra Buckle, 'An English Composer in Royal and Aristocratic Service: Robert Chirbury, c. 1380–1454' *PMM*, 15 (2006), 109–22.

⁵³ *John Benet's Chronicle for the Years 1400 to 1462*, ed. G. L. and M. A. Harriss, *CM* 24 (Camden Fourth Series, 9) (London, 1972), 161.

⁵⁴ Reported in Wathey (1986), 4.

⁵⁵ David Fallows, 'Binchois [Binchoys], Gilles de Bins [Binch, Binche] dit' in *NGD*.

twice by Skelton and appearing in two different English manuscripts. Further to this, Binchois' song *Dueil angoissuex* provides the basis for a Mass by Bedyngham.⁵⁶

Peter Wright has written extensively on the links between Binchois and England, noting several specific instances of borrowing. Power's motet *Anima mea liquefacta est* borrows from Binchois' *De plus en plus*,⁵⁷ whilst a Kyrie once thought to be of English origin appears to quote from two Binchois songs, *De plus en plus* and *Se j'eusse un seul peu d'esperance*.⁵⁸ This borrowing is not a one-way process, since a Binchois Credo in Tr92-1 borrows heavily from the Ritson Carol *Pray for us, thow prince of pesse*.⁵⁹ Further, a Binchois Sanctus-Agnus pair in Tr92-1 is clearly linked, in some way, to a Sanctus-Agnus pair in Egerton, though it is unclear which pair has priority.⁶⁰ Wright further notes that connections have been made between Binchois' choice of text and England, with the composer setting *Ave regina caelorum* (a text favoured and perhaps originating in England) and possibly some Sarum versions of chants.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Wright (2000), 88. As will be shown later, there may be a link between Bedyngham and East Anglia (see fn. 65). There may, therefore, be a link between Bedyngham and Binchois. Further, it is perhaps telling that the poetic concordance of Binchois' songs is found in the writings of Skelton, a Norfolk poet.

⁵⁷ Shai Burstyn, 'Power's *Anima Mea* and Binchois' *De Plus en Plus*: A Study in Musical Relationships', *MD*, 30 (1976), 55–72; cited in Wright (2000), 88. fn. 4.

⁵⁸ Craig Monson, 'Stylistic Inconsistencies in a Kyrie Attributed to Dufay', *JAMS*, 28 (1975), 245–67. Cited in Wright (2000), 88. This Kyrie is discussed at length in Wright (2010), 185–214 where its English origin is questioned.

⁵⁹ Robert Mitchell, *The Palaeography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91, together with Analyses and Editions of Six Mass Cycles by Franco-Flemish Composers from Trent Codex 89* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter, 1989), 223. Cited in Wright (2000), 88, fn. 6. See also Andrew Kirkman, 'Binchois the Borrower', in *Binchois Studies*, Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (eds.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 119–37.

⁶⁰ First noted in Bukofzer (1950), 142. Cited in Wright (2000), 90. fn. 11.

⁶¹ See Wright (2000), 90. esp. fn. 14.

As well as these clear indications of contact with or at least interest in English music, Wright notes more specific stylistic similarities with English music in the works of Binchois.⁶² What is most interesting about this is his demonstration of the balance Binchois maintains between an English idiom and his own distinctive voice.

There are several extremely important points to take from this. Firstly, it seems that there is a clear example of a continental composer working under English patronage, either in England or on the continent, and that this had a demonstrable impact on the style of the composer in question. Secondly, there is evidence of two-way cultural interaction and compositional borrowing. And thirdly, the influence of Binchois on Bedyngham shows some degree of influence from the continent in England, even if this may be due to quite a specific incidence.

As well as bringing important English nobles to France, the Hundred Years War enabled cultural exchange in other ways. One of the more important, perhaps, is due to the capture of many French nobles. The nobility were important patrons of music and their taste shaped the music of their courts. Perhaps the best example of this is Duke Charles d'Orléans, captured at Agincourt and held a prisoner in England for 25 years. During this time he was kept in various locations in England and allowed a relatively large degree of freedom.⁶³ He was an accomplished writer and wrote many courtly poems in French. Importantly for us, many

⁶² Wright (2000), 90–9.

⁶³ Enid McLeod, *Charles of Orleans: Prince and Poet* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 129–45.

of these poems appear with English translations, which are believed by many to have been written by Charles d'Orléans himself.⁶⁴ Indeed, he spoke English very well and, if the chronicler Raphael Hollinshead is to be believed, spoke it better than French by the end of his captivity.⁶⁵ Most interestingly, English composers, such as Bedyngham, set some of the English poems.⁶⁶

It appears that Charles d'Orléans' time in English hands exerted important influence over his practice of the arts and therefore quite possibly over his patronage of them. It may be significant that Guillaume le Rouge, a singer and composer in the employ of Charles d'Orléans after his eventual release, composed a Mass based on Frye's ballade *So ys emprentid*. This Mass and its possible context will be discussed later.

The end of the Hundred Years War did not signal the end of the English in France and Calais remained under English control until 1558. During this time, Calais seems to have been a point of contact for other English musicians on the continent. In 1483, the English musicians

⁶⁴ See, for example, R. Steele and M. Day, *The English Poems of Charles of Orleans* (London: Early English Texts Society, 1941–6).

⁶⁵ Raphael Hollinshead, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol. 6 (1587), section 15. Viewed online at *The Hollinshead Project* <http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/texts.php?text1=1587_5591>

⁶⁶ Fallows raises the possibility that Bedyngham and Charles d'Orléans may have had some contact (see David Fallows, 'Words and Music in Two English Songs of the Mid-15th Century: Charles d'Orléans and John Lydgate', *EM*, 5 (1977), 38–44). Given the fact that Charles d'Orléans was hostage to the Duke of Suffolk, this may be indicative of a further link between the two. There is a broadly East Anglian or East-Midlands dialect to Bedyngham's secular songs. All contemporary poetic parallels for the music of both Bedyngham and Frye are found in East Anglian poetry. Not only this, Bedingham is the name of a village in Norfolk. A search of the county records finds the wills of several Bedinghams who may have been relations. It is even possible that the Johannes Bedingham mentioned in the will of John Bedingham, 'capellus of Great Yarmouth' (NCC, will register, Heydon, f.199.), is the composer.

Conrad Smyth and Peter Skydell travelled from the court of Albrecht IV in Munich to Calais and, whilst they were in the town, taught the song *O rosa bella*.⁶⁷

As a centre for the wool trade with the rest of Europe, Calais may have been an important point of cultural exchange with continental musicians, too. The wool trade, in particular, has been noted as one of the main routes that English music may have taken into Europe,⁶⁸ and there is primary evidence that at least one wool merchant was musically active.

In December 1473 George Cely, an English wool merchant, paid a harper in Calais, Thomas Rede, to teach him *Myn hertes lust, O Freshest Flower, Tojourns*,⁶⁹ *O rosa bella, Of such complain, Go heart hurt with adversity* and *My dely woe*.⁷⁰ All of the songs are clearly English, with all but *O rosa bella* having an English text. This demonstrates not only that some wool merchants were musically active, but that English music was available in Calais.

This is not necessarily evidence of English music having been in circulation more generally on the continent. It is possible that the English songs listed above belonged to Cely rather than Rede. Cely certainly carried some musical manuscripts, having purchased a 'byll off fotyng',

⁶⁷ Anonymous Review of Bertha Antonia Wallner, *Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch*, *M&L*, 37 (1956), 92

⁶⁸ Wilfred Mellers, *Music and Society: England and the European Tradition* (New York: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1950), 58

⁶⁹ Fallows (1999), 65 suggests that this is 'To iourns' instead.

⁷⁰ Alison Hanham, 'The Musical Studies of a Fifteenth-Century Wool Merchant', *RES*, 8 (1957), 270–1.

(dancing notation) and 'a byll ffor to lerne to tevne the levte' (an instruction for lute tuning).⁷¹ Not only this, Rede himself may also have been English. He certainly has an English sounding name and all of the French inhabitants of Calais were driven out immediately after the Siege of Calais.⁷² Even if Rede himself knew the pieces, he may have known them from England and not learnt them whilst in France. Whether or not this is evidence of English music in general circulation on the continent, it is clear that English secular music, at least, was present in Calais.

It is clear that the English occupation of France resulted in many English households living and working on the continent. In some cases, such as the chapel of the Duke of Clarence, it appears that the household consisted almost entirely of English musicians perhaps limiting the degree of cultural exchange. However, given the close alliance between England and Burgundy during parts of the Hundred Years War, it seems likely that musicians from both countries would have had contact. Indeed, there must have been a degree of contact between musicians from the English chapels and those within the occupied towns.

In other cases, it is clear that continental composers worked for English patrons. In these instances, the degree of possible cultural exchange is obviously enormous. Further to this, the capture of French nobles, such as Charles d'Orléans, immersed important patrons of the

⁷¹ Hanham (1957), 271–2.

⁷² Jean Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the Adjoining Countries: From the Latter Part of the Reign of Edward II. to the Coronation of Henry IV*, Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (ed.), Thomas Jones (trans.) (London, 1862), 188–9.

arts in English culture. The example of Charles d'Orléans is key. The impact on his household and on his patronage and practice of the arts bears witness to this, as will be shown.

However, despite the clear possibilities for cultural exchange inherent in the English occupation of France, many of these instances appear to have been somewhat short-lived. There are no surviving manuscripts demonstrably created for any of the English chapels in France that could have remained as a lasting influence after the loss of English control. As well as this, the period of greatest influence occurs before that which forms the focus of this thesis, encompassing the generation of composers directly preceding the generation upon whom it is focussed. A more in-depth discussion of the timescale considered here will be outlined in chapter 3. For now, it still seems important to consider the routes of cultural exchange between England and the continent in the years directly preceding the period of focus as this obviously still has some bearing on compositional practice.

Not all of the points of cultural exchange discussed above appear to have finished when the majority of English control in France ceased. Indeed, Calais remains an important point of cultural interaction far beyond the fifteenth century. The impact of English captivity on Charles d'Orléans and English patronage on Gilles Binchois is also particularly important later in the century.

1.3 Merchants and the Confraternity of the Merchant

Adventurers

The guild or confraternity was an exceptionally important part of fifteenth-century life. This was especially the case for those merchants whose lives and livelihoods required frequent and extended overseas travel. For them, guilds and confraternities provided protection, extra bargaining power, the ability to transport materials more cheaply *en masse*, and governance in legal disputes. Generally, these groups would be organised under the leadership of an elected governor who would preside over the running of the community. The community would have houses in which the members would live and, crucially for us, chapels and other institutions to tend to their other needs.⁷³ Perhaps the most important group, for present purposes at least, is the Confraternity of Merchant Adventurers.

The Merchant Adventurers were a group of English merchants based mainly in York, London and Bristol that was formed in the late thirteenth century after the granting of certain privileges within the Low Countries. By 1270, there was a large group of English merchants in Bruges and, by 1282, the Count of Flanders gave them free access to Flanders. In 1296, the dukes of Brabant followed suit, allowing access to Antwerp through certain privileges that were then expanded in 1305 and confirmed in

⁷³ For an overview of the confraternity and its various cultural contexts see *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Christopher F. Black and Pamela Gravestock (eds.) (Bodmin: Ashgate, 2006).

1315. It was here in Antwerp that the English were first allowed to organise themselves under the rule of a governor. Indeed, these grants became the basis for all subsequent privileges. By 1407, the Count of Holland and Zeeland had made similar grants.⁷⁴

With the right to trade came other important rights. In 1344 there was a chapel dedicated to St Thomas Becket, the patron saint of the Merchant Adventurers, within the Carmelite Friary of Bruges that was '*ad opus nacionis Anglie*'. The English in the town even had burial privileges within the Carmelite Friary.⁷⁵ Indeed, the foundation of English chapels was not limited to Bruges. In 1474, a house in Antwerp was granted to the Merchant Adventurers that was attached to its own chapel.⁷⁶ Chapels dedicated to Thomas Becket were also erected in Middleburg and Bergen op Zoom.⁷⁷ The will of Angel Don, grocer of London and stapler of Calais, who left the 'chapel of St Thomas in Our Lady's Church in Calais called the Staple Chapel' vestments of cloth of gold in 1505, is even proof of a chapel in Calais.⁷⁸

Anne Sutton has confirmed the importance of these chapels, stating that 'the fraternity of St Thomas was the religious side of the company of English merchants trading to the Low Countries: all English merchants

⁷⁴ Anne F. Sutton, 'The Merchant Adventurers of England: The Place of the Adventurers of York and the North in the Late Middle Ages', *NH*, 46 (September 2009), 221.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁷⁸ National Archives: Public Record Office, PROB 11/15, ff. 163-64, esp. f. 163v.

enjoyed communal worship in their own chapels dedicated to their English saint and served by their English chaplains.⁷⁹

The influence of the Merchant Adventurers and their patron saint was not felt only in the Low Countries and Calais, however. It appears that some members of the guild may have been involved in the establishment of the Hospice of Saint Thomas in Rome. Indeed, there was a particularly strong English community that centred on this hospice and, by 1377, the English in Rome celebrated the feast of Thomas Becket every December.⁸⁰ Like the English communities in the Low Countries, the Roman English community performed a variety of different functions. The hospice certainly had its own chapel, and priests staying in the hospice were required to sing Mass weekly. By 1411, the hospice had its own burial ground, much like the guild in Bruges.⁸¹

It is clear that there were large communities of English living in many cities across the continent. Crucially for us, most of these communities appear to have had their own chapels and priests that gave regular services, following the Sarum rite.⁸² This seems a clear context for the performance of English music, following the English rite within many continental cities. It has even been noted that, within Rome at least, some Italians appear to have been involved with the English hospice and

⁷⁹ Sutton (2009), 222–3.

⁸⁰ Margaret Harvey, *English in Rome, 1362–1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 56.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁸² The documentary evidence that confirms the papal permission for the use of the Sarum Rite in parts of France during English occupation may well confirm this.

may have been members of the confraternity themselves.⁸³ In this case, it gives an even clearer indication of the possibilities for cultural exchange within these expatriate communities.

Reinhard Strohm has demonstrated that there is a surviving choirbook that stands as testament to the use of English polyphony in the chapel of the Merchant Adventurers at Bruges. This is proof, in one instance at least, that the performance of English music in institutions on the continent was not limited only to chant.

The Lucca Choirbook had been at Lucca Cathedral from c.1472, having been donated by Giovanni Arnolfini, a Lucchese banker living in Bruges. Initially, it was believed that the manuscript was made for the Cathedral at Lucca. However, Strohm has more recently demonstrated that it was instead produced for the Merchant Adventurers' chapel in Bruges, suggesting a *terminus ante quem* of c.1464, three years before Lucca cathedral was re-established.

In terms of both repertoire and size, the manuscript appears to have been created as a cathedral choirbook. It has many signs of Flemish origin, ranging from palaeographical evidence to manuscript decoration. It also has a small number of Flemish works, some with a Bruges connection in particular, which augment a large group of English works. Many of these have prosula Kyries that seem to have been copied by a scribe at least somewhat familiar with them.

⁸³ Harvey (2004), 57.

The suggestion of a link with the Merchant Adventurers in Bruges fits with the apparently Flemish origin of the physical characteristics of the manuscript as well as the English repertoire, surviving as it does with prosula Kyries that were unsuitable for continental rites. It is further supported by the later addition to the manuscript of works related to Bruges. As discussed above, the Merchant Adventurers had a chapel within the Carmelite friary in Bruges where services following the English rite would have been held.

Interestingly, Johannes Hothby, a Carmelite friar, took the manuscript to Lucca at the behest of Arnolfini. Hothby appears to have been well acquainted with many of the composers and compositions within the Lucca Choirbook, referring to them in the now famous treatise *Dialogus in arte musica*. It is therefore possible that he was once present in the Friary in Bruges – yet another link between the city and the manuscript. Strohm goes so far as to suggest that the appointment of Caxton in 1462 as the governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Bruges may have been a reason for the production of the manuscript.⁸⁴

Despite surviving in an extremely fragmentary state, the Lucca choirbook provides evidence of the sheer size, scale and complexity of the English repertoire that was found in an English chapel on the continent. The Lucca Choirbook is an exceptional manuscript, however. It was obviously very expensive and belonged to a wealthy institution. Bruges

⁸⁴ The information above on the description and provenance of the manuscript is taken from Strohm (2008), 1–34.

was certainly one of the most important centres for the Merchant Adventurers so it cannot necessarily be assumed that all of their other chapels would have had such elaborate choirbooks. It seems quite likely that they would have had manuscripts of some type that contained English music, however. What is perhaps most surprising is that these are yet to be discovered. With English chapels found in Bruges, Middleberg, Bergen Op Zoom, Antwerp, Calais and Rome, it could reasonably be expected that more English chapel choirbooks would have been found. Perhaps some of the fragments of English music that have survived on the continent previously belonged to them or perhaps other English chapels had more ephemeral collections of music that were less likely to survive.

What is clear is that there is an obvious context for a vast array of English music being sung and copied on the continent within the many chapels of the Merchant Adventurers. In some of these cases, continental citizens appear to have been involved with these groups, perhaps as scribes, singers or even composers.

1.4 Ecumenical councils and diplomatic congresses

Chapel choirs, consisting of singers and composers (though there was often no distinction between the two), played an important ceremonial function in both ecumenical councils and diplomatic congresses. Over the course of the fifteenth century, many such meetings took place. The provided an opportunity for interaction between groups of singers from

different countries as the performance of the chapel choirs would have been an important demonstration of national prestige.

During the fifteenth century, the main Ecumenical Councils and Diplomatic Congresses involving England were as follows: the Council of Pisa (1409), the Council of Constance (1414–18), the Treaty of Troyes (1420), the Council of Sienna (1423–4), the Councils of Basel, Ferrara and Florence (1431–49) and the Congress of Arras (1435).

Whilst the Council of Pisa is rather earlier than the main period discussed within this thesis, it provides some important context with regard to the councils later in the century. The council was convened in an attempt to end the Great Western Schism. In the end, the council failed in this and created a third claimant to the Holy See.⁸⁵

Following the failure of the Council of Pisa adequately to solve the Great Western Schism, the Council of Constance was convened.⁸⁶ This is often seen as an important point of contact between English music and the continent. The French Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly challenged England's status as a separate nation within the ecumenical council in 1416. Despite its relatively small size, the English *natio* had an equal status to the much larger German, French, Italian and Spanish *nationes* during voting. This culminated in a formal protest by the protector of the King of France in 1417 – motivated partially by the fact that the English *natio* often

⁸⁵ Phillip H. Stump, *'The' Reforms of the Council of Constance: (1414–1418)* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1993), xii–xiii.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

challenged the French during voting.⁸⁷ This seems to have prompted the English at Constance to have gone on a cultural offensive, stating their claim to independence and equal status at the council. Indeed, it has been argued that this particular turn of events was anticipated and that the cultural offensive began in earnest before the French had even begun to move against the English *natio*.⁸⁸

This cultural offensive consisted of several approaches. The sermons preached by the English clergy made repeated reference to English authorities, often reinforcing this with the use of the word '*noster*' to describe them.⁸⁹ The celebration of the feast of Thomas Becket appears to have been quite spectacular too, making an impression on continental chroniclers. Ulrich Richental notes that, in 1415, the English celebrated it

splendidly . . . with great hymns of honor, great pomp, all the relics in Constance, and tall burning candles. And all day long, at Matins, Primes, Tierce, Sext, Nones, Vespers and Compline, trumpeters rode about the city, with their King's arms on their trumpets and blew on them continually.⁹⁰

One year later, Richental again noted the English trumpeters and the beautiful singing of Vespers, but also 'sweet English hymns on the organ', and the Mass conducted by the Bishop of Salisbury assisted by two other bishops, at which 'all the clergy were present'. He also noted that the English finished the feast with a banquet to which they invited the

⁸⁷ Chris Nighman, 'Citations of 'Noster' John Pecham in Richard Fleming's Trinity Sermon: Evidence for the Political Use of Liturgical Music at the Council of Constance', *MSS*, 52 (2008), 39.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 31–41.

⁹⁰ Ulrich Richental, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, L. R. Loomis (trans.) (New York, 1961), 138.

'patriarchs [. . .] bishops and scholars'.⁹¹ Frank Harrison has further noted that the English performed a Mass for Thomas Becket on the vigil of the feast utilising slide trumpets.⁹² Epiphany plays appear to have been part of this cultural offensive, too. Two were given at Constance in 1417, the first for the burghers of Constance and the second for Emperor Sigismund and members of the German *natio*.⁹³

It appears that there were actually two English choirs in Constance, the first presumably arriving with the English delegates shortly after the council began, and the second travelling only later in September 1416.⁹⁴ The second group, as well as offering the possibility of cultural exchange at the council itself, journeyed widely across Europe, singing at the cathedral in Cologne on 8 September 1416 for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary,⁹⁵ for instance.

The Council of Constance does indeed seem to have provided a major opportunity for the music of band I composers to reach the continent. The apparent fame that seems to have grown around the English performances there – fame that seems to have been developed as a self-conscious attempt to legitimise England as an independent nation – may have been partially responsible for the sudden increase in interest in English music on the continent.

⁹¹ Richental (2001), 146–7.

⁹² Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), 243.

⁹³ Chris Nighman, 'Another Look at the English Staging of an Epiphany Play at the Council of Constance', *REED*, 22 (1997), 11.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 and 16–17 (fn. 10).

Whilst the Council of Constance seems particularly rich in examples of musical interrelations, there is little in the way of documentary evidence for this at the Treaty of Troyes or the Council of Siena. This is not to suggest that these occasions did not provide a means for English music to reach the continent. Strohm has argued that diplomatic embassies may well have contained 'learned musicians', especially since they can be shown to have included minstrels, some of whom have been identified with named continental composers.⁹⁶

There is rather more evidence of possible musical interaction for the councils of Basel, Ferràra and Florence. Ann Besser Scott has suggested that English music reached Florence along with the ecumenical council and was eventually copied into Modena B.⁹⁷ Interestingly, when the council was in Basel, it appears that the singers who came as a part of the retinues of the delegates were released from their normal service to be re-hired by the council.⁹⁸ The possibilities for cultural exchange inherent in this are enormous.

The final diplomatic event to be considered is the Congress of Arras. Strohm notes that at this congress 'there is no doubt [that] musicians from various countries encountered one another.'⁹⁹ The suggestion that the congress may have been related to the English works found within the

⁹⁶ Strohm (1981), 313.

⁹⁷ Ann Besser Scott, 'English Music in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α, X. 1,11 and Other Italian Manuscripts, *MD*, 26 (1972), 153–5.

⁹⁸ Nino Pirrotta, 'Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy', *JAMS*, 19 (1966), 131.

⁹⁹ Strohm (1981), 312.

Aosta Codex,¹⁰⁰ however, seems now to have been rejected in favour of at least some of these works having come to the continent via either the Council of Constance or the Council of Basel.¹⁰¹

It seems clear that ecumenical and diplomatic councils offered an opportunity for English music to reach the continent. It must be noted, however, that all of the above examples take place predominantly during the period characterised as band I (the first forty years of the fifteenth century), with the exception of the council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence. Even if these councils were partially responsible for the sudden interest in English music on the continent, they could perhaps have played only a limited part in the dissemination of band II music.

1.5 Religious orders and universities

Both monastic and university institutions appear to have been remarkably international. Reinhard Strohm notes that '[t]he monastic orders in general provided networks through which music and musical learning could travel'.¹⁰² Importantly, he further suggests that

[t]he developing liturgy of a particular order called for rapid transmission by musically skilled members throughout Europe; together with liturgical texts and chants, non-liturgical song (*contrafacta*, *cantiones*, etc.) might also be distributed. This distribution could therefore include music which did not directly concern the order, but only individual members and their interests...¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Marian Cobin, 'The Compilation of the Aosta Manuscript: A Working Hypothesis', *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference*, A. W. Atlas (ed.) (New York, 1976), 84.

¹⁰¹ Stanley Boorman et. al., 'Sources, MS, §IX, 2: Renaissance polyphony: 15th-Century Sources from Northern Italy (& Southern Germany)' in *NGD*.

¹⁰² Strohm (1981), 303.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*.

This seems crucial to the dissemination of English music on the continent as it allows for the copying of English music of interest to particular monks, even if not useful to the monastery.

The activities of the English Carmelite Johannes Hothby are a perfect example of the possible role that members of monastic institutions may have played. As discussed earlier in this chapter, it seems likely that he was involved in bringing the Lucca Choirbook from Bruges to Lucca. It is possible that this stands testament to a common practice of using members of monastic institutions to transport collections of polyphony from one institution to another. Indeed, Hothby travelled extremely widely, having visited Italy, Germany, France, Great Britain and Spain,¹⁰⁴ offering the opportunity for contact with a wide variety of music from different cultures.

Hothby's role as a musician was much more varied and important than simply being involved with moving manuscripts. He was a teacher of plainchant and polyphony, as well as a theorist and composer.¹⁰⁵ As teachers, theorists and composers, members of monastic institutions would clearly be important members of the musical communities to which they belong and, crucially, often appear to have led itinerant lifestyles.

Sadly, there is little direct evidence of the role that members of monastic institutions may have played in the dissemination of music and

¹⁰⁴ Blackburn 'Hothby [Hocby, Octobi, Ottobi, Otteby], John [Johannes]' in *NGD*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

their more general activities must be extrapolated from the few surviving detailed accounts. However, there is further evidence that some monastic institutions may have been involved in the dissemination of music on a larger, more institutional level. The best example of this appears to be the Carmelites in Bruges, who as demonstrated above, were extremely important for the English in the city, allowing the use of their burial grounds, chapel and meeting places. This seems consistent with the activities of many different monastic institutions, which allowed the use of their resources by confraternities and courts.¹⁰⁶

Strohm notes that religious institutions were often used as the burial place for important families and therefore endowed with Mass foundations. Good examples include: the Chartreuse de Champmol, near Dijon, for the dukes of Burgundy; the Carmelite church in Straubing for the dukes of Bavaria-Straubing; and the Benedictine monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua for the Carrara dynasty.¹⁰⁷ This suggests not only that individual members of monastic institutions could provide an important point of cultural exchange across national boundaries but that the institutions themselves could offer facilities for a variety of secular institutions. In many cases these appear to have included foreign groups, allowing further cultural exchange with the members of the institution.

¹⁰⁶ Another example of this is the regular meetings of the Merchant Adventurers held in the Dominican hall in Antwerp. See Ann F. Sutton, 'The Merchant Adventurers of England: Their Origins and the Mercers' Company of London', *HR*, 75 (2002), 31.

¹⁰⁷ Strohm (1981), 303.

The interaction between monastic institutions and courts further increases the impact that this cultural exchange could have had.

Universities too were important international institutions that mandated the travel of the musically educated across national boundaries. A good example of this is the University of Ferrara. According to Ann Besser Scott, the lure of the great humanist scholar Guarino da Verona (1420–60) brought a great many English students. Scott notes several English students present there, including John Free (1456), John Tiptoft (1459 or 60), John Gunthorpe (1460), Thomas Paslewe (1452), William Grey, Reynold Chichele and Robert Flemmyng. These last three students are perhaps the most interesting. William Grey, Chancellor of Oxford from 1440–2 and later Bishop of Ely, was known to have maintained a large retinue when in Ferrara, living 'in princely style'. Perhaps this 'princely' retinue would have contained musicians. Robert Flemmyng had a similar career to Grey, being Proctor of Oxford in 1438 and Dean of Lincoln in 1451. He, likewise, may have come to Ferrara with a retinue of some sort. Reynold Chichele, who had personal contact with the rulers of Ferrara, stands testament to the contact between university students of noble birth and the city court.¹⁰⁸

It seems likely that other universities within Europe would have had English students.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, any student of the *quadrivium* would have a

¹⁰⁸ Besser Scott (1972), 151–3.

¹⁰⁹ For instance, the University of Padua had an 'English *natio*' from its founding in 1222. Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Medieval Universities* (Cambridge Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), 123. For more on the University of Padua, see Ronald Edward Ohl, *The University of Padua, 1405–1509: An International Community of Students and Professors* (PhD Thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1980).

musical education. By the end of the fifteenth century, there were a total of ninety-one universities founded across Europe: twenty-six in Italy, eighteen in France, thirteen each in Spain and Germany, seven in what is now the United Kingdom, two each in Portugal, Hungary and Sweden and one each in Ireland, the Czech Republic, Poland, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Slovakia and Denmark.¹¹⁰ This seems likely to have led to the travel of many English students across the continent, some of whom would have been musically active.

Conclusion

Andrew Wathey, discussing the possibility of Dunstaple having been present in France, suggested that moments of contact between English music and the continent 'were specific and incident-based and for the most part depended on large movements of men and resources.'¹¹¹ Whilst it is certainly true that there are many 'incident-based' moments of contact, it also seems true that there was a great deal of interchange of a less ephemeral nature.

It is clear that there were a great many English chapels working on the continent, using both English and continental musicians and composers and, in some cases at least, using the Sarum Rite. In the following discussion of English music on the continent it will be necessary

¹¹⁰ Jacques Verger, 'Patterns', in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.) *A History of the University in Europe. Vol. I: Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 62–5.

¹¹¹ Wathey (1986), 3.

to keep in mind these important points of contact. They offer vital context, not only for the copying of English music by continental scribes, but for the apparent influence this activity seems to have had on contemporary continental composition.

As well as offering a context, a deeper understanding of the nature of contact between English and continental musicians must force a re-evaluation of the strength of some of the criteria used to determine the provenance of supposedly English works. Is it still appropriate, for instance, to view the use of the Sarum version of a *cantus firmus* as definitive proof of English origin? It seems not. Instead, since the Sarum Rite was seemingly used in continental based English institutions, it may be indicative of contact between a continental composer and an English institution on the continent. Of course, it is surely symptomatic of some kind of English influence, contact or provenance, but the precise nature of this is not as obvious as it may first seem.

Chapter 2

English Music on the Continent: Dissemination and Scribal Practice

In chapter 1, many of the fifteenth-century points of contact between English and continental music were outlined. In some cases, these routes can be directly linked to a particular manuscript, such as the Lucca and Brussels Choirbooks. In other instances, English cycles were copied from one continental source to another, eventually reaching manuscripts with no demonstrable direct contact with England.

This chapter will look at each of the continental manuscripts in which the repertory of fifteenth-century English Mass cycles is found. In this way, the complex patterns of dissemination that affected the repertory as it spread throughout the continent can be traced. Given that the focus of this thesis is on the band II repertory, those manuscripts that include mid-century works will be afforded more attention.

Following an overview of the continental sources (**2.1**), their structure will be discussed in order to provide a more comprehensive overview of the surviving continental copies of English Masses (**2.2**). This overview will later be used, in chapter 4, to determine which continental Masses make the best comparands for the English repertory.

2.1 Continental sources of English Mass cycles: an overview

Appendix 1.1 outlines every fifteenth-century continental manuscript that contains English Mass cycles, presented in a rough chronological order and taking into account the chronological banding outlined by Curtis and

Wathey.¹ This chronological banding will be explored in detail and refined in chapter 3. The shaded boxes in appendix 1.1 represent band I Masses whilst the clear boxes represent band II Masses. No band III Masses survive in continental sources. Manuscripts that contain only a single movement, even if fragmentary, are listed in this table, since this is still evidence of the music being available to the scribe.

As appendix 1.1 demonstrates, until Trent 93, the only English Masses present on the continent are defined as band I. Trent 93 and 90 still contain band I Masses but also the very earliest band II cycles. By Trent 88, only one band I Mass is present, whilst from Trent 89 until Milan 2269 only band II Masses are present, with one exception. The exception, a fragment of the Gloria of Dunstaple's *Da gaudiorum* Mass (M5) in D-LEu 1084, is quite clearly anomalous. Not only is it the only English cycle in the manuscript, but it is also very fragmentary and was copied significantly later than most band I Mass cycles.

2.2 Manuscript structures

Appendix 1.1 outlines each of the manuscripts containing English Masses but treats each manuscript as though it was copied at one time, in a single session. There are clearly some issues with this approach since many manuscripts are either composites of earlier sources or were copied over relatively long periods of time.

¹ Curtis and Wathey (1994), 1.

One of the earliest attempts to explain different levels of scribal activity in the compilation of a manuscript was undertaken by Charles Hamm. Hamm noted that, for many manuscripts, the final structure consists of a composite of several pre-existent collections of compositions, all of which had a separate dissemination history. He described what he termed a 'fascicle manuscript' – a once physically separate bundle of folios, perhaps now bound together with other material as a larger manuscript, or else simply having been an exemplar for this later manuscript. Hamm suggested that it was only through the dissemination of these smaller 'fascicle manuscripts' that works could 'agree so closely in all details of notations and even layout that they cannot be far removed from a common source' and yet be presented in sources with no 'vestige of common structure'.²

Hamm proposed that some of the more organised anthology collections of works were copied directly from exemplars which were themselves small 'fascicle manuscripts' and which could therefore have travelled amongst scribes, acting as the exemplar for multiple manuscripts. Conversely, those less organised manuscripts with different repertorial clusters, scribes and watermarks may consist of several earlier fascicle manuscripts bound together.³

Despite the obvious attraction of Hamm's proposition, it is not an unproblematic theory and Margaret Bent has sounded a note of caution

² Charles Hamm, 'Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era', *AM*, 34 (1962), 166–84.

³ *Ibid.*

against some of its more far-reaching consequences. Bent notes that 'we can no more presume that details of piece-ordering in surviving manuscripts would preserve the order of pieces copied from small autonomous fascicles than that the order of a larger collection would be retained.'⁴ Moreover, the production of manuscripts from sets of 'fascicle manuscripts' bound together at a later date must have been limited by the very great difference in paper size and in the area ruled for copying at the time.⁵ She further suggests that these 'fascicle manuscripts' must have been 'planned in such a way that it was physically possible' to bind them together.⁶

As well as noting issues of paper size and stave ruling, Bent notes that differences in regional practices would make any 'fascicle manuscripts' extremely obvious. For 'fascicle manuscripts' originating in England, or closely related to an English exemplar, the 'differences in mensural usage, the order of the parts on the page, changing the vocal scoring and texting, "translating" the notation from black full to void and ... redistributing Mass movements ... [from] a single opening of a large format to occupy two openings of a smaller format'⁷ would be very obvious if found within a continental manuscript. Neither these traits nor the presence of an English scribal hand is found in any of Hamm's

⁴ Margaret Bent, 'Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony' in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, Iain Fenlon (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 300.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 302-3.

apparently English 'fascicle manuscripts', leading Bent to challenge the identification of a great many of them.⁸

It is entirely possible that the English 'fascicle manuscripts' that Hamm proposed, rather than consisting of the original English scribal work, are instead an earlier stage of continental dissemination – as will be argued for some gatherings of the Strahov manuscript below. Moreover, any relatively small deviation in paper size could be easily removed by trimming the manuscript. Despite this, it is clear that there are easier explanations for what Hamm seeks to describe.

Clearly, the term 'fascicle manuscript' is now somewhat charged. However, the phenomenon that it sought to explain – that the manuscript with which the modern scholar is faced is often not the same as that originally produced – must still be taken into account. Whilst Bent is undoubtedly right in noting that many of the phenomena that Hamm sought to explain are more easily explicable through other means, it is certainly true that many manuscripts had several distinct phases of compilation.⁹ When seeking to track transmission and influence, this understanding is key and it is useful to track each level of compilation, as well as the finished manuscript.

A further complication can be the later re-binding and re-using of material, which can lead to the creation of a completely different

⁸ Bent (1981), 303 fn. 11.

⁹ For example, the Brussels Choirbook or Strahov Codex – both of which will be discussed below.

manuscript.¹⁰ These two issues, the relatively contemporary layered composition of manuscripts and the more invasive later re-bindings, suggest the need for a markedly more complex outline that takes into account the different stages of a manuscript's production. For this, the discussion will focus only on the manuscripts from Tr93 to Lyon 6632, as the seven manuscripts from before this date contain only band I Masses. Whilst the chronological bands will be examined in more detail in chapter 3, the general focus on manuscripts from Tr93 onwards will not change.

In order to provide a more comprehensive overview of the continental copies of English band II Masses, the different stages of copying for each manuscript must first be outlined. This will proceed in the rough chronological order outlined in appendix 1.1. These re-defined manuscript sections will then be used to produce a more detailed entabulation of the copying of English cycles in continental sources.

Tr88, 89, 90 and 93

The Trent Codices represent the largest surviving collection of works from the period of study. Tr88, 89 and 90 have the same principal scribe, whilst Tr93 is linked to the collection as the exemplar for a large part of Tr90 and sharing some scribal hands, including that of Johannes Wiser, the principal scribe of the other codices. Peter Wright has offered a fascinating insight into the copying of these manuscripts. Based on

¹⁰ See, for example, MS. Arch. Seldon. B.26, a manuscript composed of five originally unrelated manuscripts bound together in the 17th century.

watermark and scribal evidence, he suggests that Tr90 was begun in Wiser's home city of Munich.¹¹ Wright argues that the interruption in the copying process, after which Wiser left a section (beginning in the middle of a Sanctus) to be copied by his assistant, may have been due to the fact that Wiser was called to take up the post of *succentor* at Trent Cathedral (in 1454 or early 1455).¹² Once in Trent, with the unfinished Tr90 and its exemplar Tr93 (possibly itself unfinished),¹³ he was able to complete the manuscript on paper purchased in Trent and with the aid of 'new colleagues or pupils'.¹⁴

Whilst Tr90 was, until his move to Trent, almost entirely Wiser's work, his later manuscripts (Tr88 and Tr89) contain work from about fifteen other scribes.¹⁵ In most cases, these scribes copy only small groups of works or even single works. The exception to this is scribe B who copies large parts of both Tr88 and Tr89, copying more than half of Tr89 (though never trusted with copying the text).¹⁶ Wright has suggested that he may even be Petrus Schrott, Wiser's *succentor*.¹⁷

The layout of the manuscripts is summarised in appendices 2.1–2.4,¹⁸ outlining scribes, sections and paper dating. Despite being the work

¹¹ Peter Wright, 'Johannes Wiser's Paper and the Copying of his Manuscripts' in *I Codici Musicali Trentini Nuove Scoperte e Nuovi Orientamenti della Ricerca*, Peter Wright (ed.) (Trent: Provincia Autonoma di Trento Servizi Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1996), 44.

¹² *Ibid.*, 41.

¹³ Peter Wright, 'Watermarks and Musicology: the Genesis of Johannes Wiser's Collection', *EMH*, 22 (2003), 301–2, suggests that Trent 93 may have been brought to Trent by Wiser's *succentor*, Petrus Schrott.

¹⁴ Wright (1996), 44.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 40–1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 41–2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁸ The details regarding watermarks, scribes and gatherings are principally taken from Wright (2003), 247–332, Wright (1996), 31–53 and Peter Wright, *The Related Parts of*

of several scribes, it is clear that Wiser took at least an editorial role in the compilation of the manuscripts for which he was the principal scribe, making amendments to many works and generally copying the text. Even within these manuscripts, however, there are still some clear divisions which must be considered when attempting to entabulate the continental sources of these English Masses.

It is important to differentiate between Tr93-1 and Tr93-2, the latter having been compiled in Trent, after Wiser had travelled there.¹⁹ It is therefore equally important to attempt to differentiate between those elements in Tr93-1 that were copied directly into Tr90 – whilst Wiser was still in Munich – and those that were copied either by him or under his direction in Trent.²⁰ Wright refers to these two sections as Tr90C and ‘appendix’ respectively.²¹ They are referred to here as Tr90-1 and Tr90-2. Importantly, Wright has suggested that Tr93-1 was still being copied during the copying of Tr90-1. He also notes that those works in Tr93-1 that are not present in Tr90-1 may well be those that were copied into Tr93-1 after work had already begun on the latter manuscript.²² It should also be noted that Scribe B, who begins copying halfway through a Sanctus, copies the last 21 folios of Tr90-1. The works here, which include the Agnus of the anonymous Mass *Paratur nobis* (M65), are still

Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MSS 87 (1374) and 92 (1379): A Paleographical and Text-Critical Study (New York: Garland, 1989).

¹⁹ Peter Wright has demonstrated that Tr93-1 was copied c.1450–3 with Tr93-2 copied c.1452–5. See Wright (2003), 283.

²⁰ It must also be noted that there are a small number pieces within Tr90-1 that are additions to the copy of Tr93-1.

²¹ Wright (2003), 294–304.

²² Wright (1989), 297–8.

copied from the exemplar Tr93-1. The Tr90-1 copy of the Agnus of *Paratur nobis*, for example, is almost identical to that in Tr93-1, with the exception of the omission of one *punctus additionis*. This section of the work will still be counted within Tr90-1.

Trent 89 also appears to have two distinct stages of copying though, unlike Tr93 and Tr90, these newer sections are spread throughout the manuscript rather than being bound at the end.²³ This fits with the apparently less organised nature of the manuscript. It is not necessary to include this second part of Tr89 in the revised table, as it contains no English Masses.

The Lucca Choirbook

As will be shown below, the Lucca Choirbook was mainly copied by one scribe, in a continuous manner. However, there are a few later additions. Appendix 2.5 outlines the settings of the Mass Ordinary in Lucca, as reconstructed by Strohm. Unlike appendices 2.1–2.4, which contain details of watermarks and phases of compilation, appendix 2.5 contains no such information, due to the fragmentary state of this parchment manuscript.

As shown in appendix 2.5, the majority of the Lucca Choirbook appears to be the work of a single scribe. Strohm has demonstrated that it was compiled in Bruges c.1463.²⁴ Only three of the Masses are

²³ Wright (1996), 31–53.

²⁴ *FCLM, VI: Mass Settings from the Lucca Choirbook*, Reinhard Strohm (ed.), EECM, 49 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2007), ix

additions by later scribes – nos. 9, 13 and 14 (as numbered by Strohm in the inventory).²⁵ Strohm has suggested that no. 13 was copied whilst the choirbook was still in Bruges and has a demonstrably close relationship to the nucleus of the manuscript.²⁶ The scribe responsible for this work (scribe B) made a single complete addition to the manuscript – a Mass with a local connection to Bruges, like nos. 2, 6, 12a and 12b.²⁷ This scribe also made additions to no. 12b, suggesting a closer relationship to the manuscript. Nos. 9 and 14 appear to have been copied rather later, c.1480–90 in Italy.²⁸ Since the English works are found only within the original nucleus, copied in Bruges some two or three decades earlier, for the purpose of entabulating the English Masses, the portion of the Lucca Choirbook copied in Italy will not be included.

Strohm has demonstrated the links between the Lucca Choirbook and the Merchant Adventurers chapel in the Carmelite Friary at Bruges,²⁹ which is more fully discussed in chapter 1. He also notes that the choirbook probably came to be in Lucca via Johannes Hothby, a Carmelite Friar, who became chaplain of the altar of S. Regolo at the Cathedral of S. Martino in February 1467.³⁰ Whilst no more English works were added to the manuscript at this time, the use of the choirbook in Italy will have enabled Italian composers to encounter English music.

²⁵ See Strohm (2008), 37–40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1–34.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 29–34.

The Brussels Choirbook

The Brussels Choirbook is rather more complex than the above-mentioned manuscripts in terms of structure. Appendix 2.6 outlines the Mass cycles found within this manuscript, detailing the phases of compilation, scribe and watermark for each cycle, from which it can be seen that the Brussels Choirbook is very much a composite source. The greater part of the manuscript appears to have been produced in several discrete sections after the initial nucleus consisting of English cycles. One of these later sections contains a further English cycle and therefore must be dated too.³¹ Effectively, two separate manuscripts must be dated, the nucleus and gatherings 9–10, in order to judge the copying dates for the English works. Given the evidence for continuous use as a bound choirbook,³² it is also important to view the collection as a whole when considering English influence on continental composers.

As discussed in chapter 1, the nucleus of the Brussels Choirbook, comprising the first four gatherings, consists of five English Masses. This section is dated c.1468.³³ It has been argued that gathering 5, containing Du Fay's Mass *Ecce ancilla domini*, was the only gathering produced before the nucleus (c.1462–6). Wegman shows that gatherings 6, 9–10

³¹ As argued in Kirkman (1992), 191–221.

³² Wegman (1986), 15 notes that the manuscript shows signs of heavy use. Paper labels have been pasted onto the vertical edges of each new mass in the nucleus, presumably to aid rehearsal, and several points of scribal texting appear to have been emended by singers. The resolution of the canon in the tenor of the *Pour quelque paine* mass has been written out in a later fifteenth-century hand and tears to the manuscript have been pasted over continuously.

³³ *Ibid.*, 5–25. As noted in chapter 1, Wegman appears to have recently challenged his own dating of this manuscript, though it is not clear on what this challenge is based.

and 11 were copied on paper bearing the same watermark and that they must have been written within the same period of four years between 1469 and 1476.³⁴ Gatherings 5, 6, 9–10, 11 and 12 were all copied in Bruges by similar scribal hands – possibly from the same scriptorium. Whilst Wegman is unable to find an exact match for the watermark of gathering 12, containing Regis' *Ecce ancilla Domini* Mass, he suggests that the chainlines indicate a date close to the nucleus of the manuscript. The only paper dated significantly later is that used in gathering 8, containing Ockeghem's *Quinti toni* Mass, which Wegman suggests is from Northern France and dated 1476–80.

Overall, it seems best to split the manuscript into two sections, both containing English works, the original nucleus from c.1468 and gatherings 5, 6, 9–10, 11 and 12. Gatherings 6, 9–10 and 11 were copied in a four-year period from 1469 to 1476 and gatherings 5 and 12 seem likely to be from the same scriptorium as these. Wegman does not explain why he dates only gathering 5 from before the nucleus and it is therefore possible that the very beginning of the date banding he suggests (i.e. 1466–8) is correct. If this is the case, it is possible that gatherings 5, 6, 9–10, 11 and 12 were all copied slightly before or at roughly the same time as the English nucleus, in the same scriptorium.

³⁴ Wegman (1986), 13.

The Strahov Codex

The Strahov Codex contains a relatively large number of English or possibly English works. Until the work of Pawel Gancarczyk, the manuscript was believed to date from c.1460–80, containing a repertory that was peripheral to central manuscripts and which represented 'the process of adaptation in Czech lands of models from Trent or, more widely, from centres in Austria.'³⁵ Instead, Gancarczyk argues that the manuscript is part of that very same cultural tradition and bridges the gap between the two youngest of the Trent Codices.³⁶

According to Gancarczyk, Strahov was created from a large group of 'fascicle manuscripts'. The evidence for this includes 'changes of paper type from one fascicle to another, [...] variations in scribal features, and [...] the manner of collating repertory'.³⁷ As noted earlier in this chapter, the term fascicle manuscript will be avoided here, though Gancarczyk himself uses the term.

Despite the appearance of several discrete phases of compilation, there can be no suggestion that the Strahov manuscript suffers from a lack of planning. There are very clearly defined repertorial sections, as noted in Snow's earlier investigation.³⁸ However, Gancarczyk believes that this represents a binding of related, pre-existent fascicle manuscripts into repertorially linked sections, rather than copying works from exemplars.

³⁵ Pawel Gancarczyk, 'The Dating and Chronology of the Strahov Codex', *HV*, 43 (2006), 144.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

³⁸ Robert Snow, *The Manuscript Strahov D.G.IV.47* (Doctoral Thesis: University of Illinois, 1968), 2.

Some of these pre-existent sections were relatively large, for example gatherings V+VI, VII+VIII+IX+X+XI and XXVII+XXVIII make up three larger sections.³⁹ The other sections consist of only single gatherings.⁴⁰

Combining the work of Snow, which relates to scribal hands,⁴¹ and Gancarczyk's work on watermarks, gives a remarkable insight into the compilation of the manuscript. It is clear that several pre-existent sections, compiled by scribes 1, 4 and 5, were later formed into the manuscript known today, by scribe 2, who filled in gaps with more compositions. Scribes 3 and 6 also added later works into blank folios.

Appendix 2.7 outlines information pertaining to the compilation of the manuscript, combining data on watermarks, phases of compilation, scribes, concordances and date of copying for two repertorial sections of the manuscript, the first mainly consisting of Kyries and the second of other items of the Mass Ordinary. These two sections are of primary interest to the study as they contain the only sections of the Mass Ordinary in the manuscript.

As appendix 2.7 shows, the earliest section (labelled 1) consists of only gathering XIII, copied by scribe 5. This gathering originally contained only the supposedly English Mass *Veni creator spiritus* (M39). It must be noted, taking into account Bent's critique of the 'fascicle manuscript' theory, that this separate gathering does not appear to be written in an English script, use black notation or follow an English layout. It may be

³⁹ Gancarczyk (2006), 137.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Snow (1968), 3-40.

indicative of a single Mass copied from an English exemplar and travelling as a continental copy, however. Scribe 2 later added two items not from the Ordinary and an anonymous Sanctus to this gathering.

Section 2, containing Kyrie settings, begins with gathering V which uses paper displaying the next oldest watermark, labelled B. The second gathering of section 2 bears watermark D, the latest dated watermark in the manuscript. As this section contains paper with one of the earliest dated alongside the latest dated watermark, and only scribe 2 entered the music that spreads between gathering V and VI, one is forced to question whether these gatherings constitute a discrete section. It seems more likely that scribe 2, having continued to add Kyries to the empty folios at the end of the already extant gathering V, added gathering VI when he ran out of empty folios. The alternative is that section 2 was copied relatively late in the manuscript's creation onto the old paper B and the newer paper D in a single session by two scribes working together.

Without knowing the date when the manuscript was bound, it is hard to tell which of the two scenarios described above is more likely. If scribe 2 is indeed responsible for the collation of the current manuscript, then it seems more likely that gathering V once existed on its own and was simply continued into gathering VI to create a larger collection of Kyries. Alternatively, if the manuscript existed in its individual unbound sections for a longer period, then it is possible that the work of scribes 1 and 2 constituted a separate section that may have had an independent existence before being bound into the manuscript known today. Given the

action of scribe 2 in other places of the manuscript, where he appears to fill in between the items copied by scribe 1, the first scenario seems the more likely.

The final section, containing Magnificats, appears to contain works written by scribes 1 and 2, written first on paper bearing watermark C (dated at the same date as watermark B) and then paper bearing watermark D (the latest dated watermark). In this case, the work of scribe 1 does continue from the earlier watermarked paper to the later, with scribe 2 apparently adding works only at the end of this second gathering. From this, it is clear that that scribe 1 was still working on parts of the manuscript as late as the latest dated watermark, rather than merely having copied earlier material to which scribe 2 later added.

Regardless of whether all of the Kyries were part of a section, or copied in two discrete phases, they were still clearly placed alongside each other by the compiler of the later manuscript. However, the majority of the Kyries appear to be single movements and the only Kyrie to be part of a cycle is that of Standley's *Sine nomine* Mass (M34), which appears to have been the last Kyrie that scribe 1 entered in the section. The rest of the Mass can be found in gathering XVI, also written on paper bearing watermark B and copied by the same scribe. Because Standley's *Sine nomine* (M34) is written by the same scribe, across both sections and on paper bearing the same watermark, it is possible that there is a closer relationship between these gatherings than has been suggested.

Section 3 is the largest in the manuscript, consisting of gatherings VII–XI and copied on paper bearing watermark B. It is unlikely that this section is as large as has been suggested. The change from scribe 1 to scribe 2 just before the end of gathering IX means that the work that is spread across both folios is copied by the later scribe. It appears that scribe 1 originally intended to copy the other three movements of the Mass *de la mappa mundi*, perhaps continuing on the remaining folios of gathering IX and then into gathering X. There is also another possibility, however. Scribe 1 may have realised that he could not fit the entirety of the Mass into gathering IX and simply chose to stop at the end of a completed movement. Again, scribe 2 then appears to copy works of the same liturgical type onto the spare paper at the end of the gathering before adding two more gatherings on paper with a later watermark to enlarge the collection of works. If section 3 is broken down into the part begun by scribe 1 and that finished by scribe 2, there are actually Masses of possible English provenance in both.

Gathering XII, which follows section 3, appears to have originally been a section of just one gathering. It was copied mainly by scribe 4, with scribe 2 having added extra material in the gaps between pieces. It contains the anonymous and possibly English Mass *Rozel im gart'n* (M38), but does not contain any full continental cycles. As shown above, the following gathering (XIII) appears to have contained also a single Mass of possible English origin – the anonymous Mass *Veni creator spiritus* (M39). This means that both gatherings XII and XIII appear to have been

individual gatherings copied by different scribes that each originally contained only a single Mass of possible English provenance.

The three remaining gatherings of which this manuscript consists are considered to be single-gathering sections. They contain several possibly English Masses and the Mass cycle by Pullois once considered to be English.

Whilst it is useful to consider the so-called 'pre-history' of the manuscript when considering the dissemination of English works on the continent, the fact that the compiler of the manuscript chose to bind these smaller sections together and to enter additional works means that it is still valid to look at the complete manuscript as a 'frozen moment in time' from which continental comparands can be selected.

It seems most sensible to view this manuscript in a similar light to the Brussels Choirbook. Whilst individual parts of the manuscript can be dated with a fair degree of accuracy (as shown below), it is possible that the greater part of the manuscript was produced by scribes (possibly from the same scriptorium) working together. Viewing the manuscript as both a collection of smaller sections and a complete manuscript makes best sense here.

Section	Watermark	Date
I	F	1462–5
II	B, C, G, H	1464–8
III	E	1467–70
IV	D	1468–71

The one exception to this may be gathering XIII (section I in the above table). It was clearly copied before the rest of the manuscript, on unrelated paper and by a scribe who appears at no other place in the manuscript. Originally, it contained only one work, the possibly English Mass *Veni creator spiritus* (M39). This appears to resemble most closely what Hamm described as a ‘fascicle manuscript’ as it appears to have transmitted a single Mass cycle. Perhaps the manuscript’s ‘pre-history’ represented an attempt to bring a particular English Mass to the scriptorium responsible for Strahov. This copy seems to have had an extremely close relationship to an original English exemplar, containing as it does a full prosula Kyrie. Presumably, it must be copied either from an English exemplar or from one coming from an area such as Bruges where English liturgical rites could still be observed.

As will be shown in more detail in chapters 3, 4 and 5, however, this cycle is extremely anomalous and may not be English. The Mass seems unusual in its COC mensuration plan and general lack of duet sections. The COC mensuration plan occurs in only one other English Mass section, the Sanctus S2 found in the Beverley fragments (GB-BEV). It can

also be found in the Credo C64, but this is now believed to be a composite Mass and the other movements of this cycle use the much more common OCO mensural scheme. *Veni creator spiritus* also uses a very unusual clef configuration found nowhere else in the English repertory.

A similar argument could be made about gathering XII, part of section III. This gathering also originally contained only one Mass that is of possible English origin (*Rozel im gart'n*), copied by a single scribe who appears nowhere else in the manuscript. This gathering differs somewhat from gathering XIII, however, as it is copied on paper bearing a watermark that is used frequently throughout the rest of the manuscript.

As will be demonstrated in chapters 4 and 5, the *Rozel im gart'n* Mass' claims to English origin are not strong. Perhaps both of these single-gathering sections have a shared origin. If this is the case, it may add extra impetus to the arguments against the English provenance of *Veni creator spiritus*. Quite apart from the evidence of single-gathering copies of possibly English music, there does appear to have been an interest in English music throughout this manuscript.

Cappella Sistina 14

The provenance of the manuscript I-Rvat CS 14 is still the focus of much debate. One of the few incontrovertible facts is that the manuscript was in the library of the papal singers by 1487. It appears that it is unlikely to have been copied in Rome, however. Richard Sherr provides an excellent assessment of the scholarship to date, outlining the arguments for

Neapolitan, Venetian and Ferrarese provenance before noting that Jeffrey Dean may yet provide evidence that pushes Roman provenance back into the frame.⁴² Sherr concludes that the most likely circumstances for the manuscript's production are that it represents a Neapolitan court repertory, with miniatures produced by a Venetian artist in Ferrara. He argues that the links between the Neapolitan and Ferrarese courts would have led to a large degree of musical sharing.

The art-historical evidence seems to be the strongest feature of the argument. Several of the miniatures in the manuscript are attributed to 'The Pico Master' in the late 1470s. This master illuminator was known to have worked in Venice for many years. However, it is highly unlikely that there was an institution in Venice capable of performing the music in this manuscript. Indeed, it is possible that the manuscript was produced in Venice for Naples but, as Sherr points out, there are no other similarly Venetian manuscripts found in the Neapolitan archives.

Lilian Armstrong, acknowledged as the foremost expert on the 'Pico Master', has suggested that he may have retired to Ferrara. If this is the case, Ferrara, with its ready access to Neapolitan repertoire and its large choral institutions capable of performing complex polyphony, does indeed seem the most likely place of copying.

Sherr has argued that the manuscript represents a tightly planned collection of works, the Masses being organised as follows: Marian (nos.

⁴² Richard Sherr, *Masses for the Sistine Chapel, Vatican City. Biblioteca Aspotolica Vaticana, Capella Sistina, MS 14, MRM* (University of Chicago Press, 2010), 10–17.

3–5); didactic (nos. 6–7, 9); multiple *cantus firmi* (11–12); *L'homme armé* (nos. 13–17); polyphonic chansons (18–19). However, this fails to explain the presence of no. 10, the anonymous English *Sine nomine* Mass (M49). Sherr notes that 'its presence is not easily explained'.⁴³ Sadly, little help is given by the *cantus firmus*, which has been identified by Strohm as possibly being related to a 'Sacrosancta hodiérne' for St Andrew in the Sarum and Paris rites.⁴⁴ Sherr does not seem totally convinced.⁴⁵ Indeed, section b of the chant seems most closely related to the Sarum version of 'Nefarium tamen apud christianorum prudentiam esse'. This chant is from the feast of Saint Vincent of Saragossa, patron saint of Vicenza (though Vicenza would not have followed the Sarum rite, of course). As Vicenza was controlled by Venice at the time, there is a tangential link between this *cantus firmus* and the illuminations of the manuscript. This link is weak, however, though the link with a Spanish Saint may be strengthened by the presence of the word 'nostrum' after 'dominum' in the Credo, a word found only in the Mozarabic-Gallican Creed.⁴⁶ The work presents good indicators of English style, though there is no good explanation for why an English composer would have written this work or, indeed, why it would have appeared in the Lucca Choirbook at an earlier date, if it were connected to the veneration of Saint Vincent.

⁴³ Sherr (2010), 7.

⁴⁴ *FCLM*, VI, 98.

⁴⁵ Sherr (2010), 7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

Any similarities between the chant and *cantus firmus* are, most probably, coincidental.

Other than the single anonymous *Sine nomine* (M49), there appears to be no particular interest shown by the scribe in English works. Clearly, given the highly organised nature of the manuscript, the Mass must have been chosen for a very particular reason. Perhaps this reason was purely musical, however. As will be demonstrated in chapter 4, this Mass once had a prosula Kyrie, though the prosula text is suppressed in this copy, and it is therefore unlikely that this Mass was prized for liturgical reasons.

The largely Neapolitan repertory of this manuscript may imply several sections of continental dissemination before the Mass reached this manuscript. As shown in chapter 1, it appears that English works made their way into Neapolitan manuscripts via Burgundian lands. Perhaps the same happened here. Indeed, the only other surviving copy of this Mass is in the Lucca Choirbook, a Burgundian source, albeit one with a very particular English connection.

San Pietro B80

Appendix 2.8 outlines the Mass cycles found in SP B80, noting the gathering and section in which they are found and the scribe who copied them, as detailed by Reynolds.⁴⁷ Reynolds has been able to identify the main scribe of the manuscript as Nicholas Ausquier, a singer who arrived

⁴⁷ Christopher Reynolds, 'The Origins of San Pietro B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory', *EMH*, 1 (1981), 257–304.

at the basilica in mid-May 1474.⁴⁸ This identification rests on several counts: 'a payment found in the San Pietro account book for 1474–5; three receipts for payment in Ausquier's hand; a comparison of these receipts with the text of San Pietro B 80; and a cryptic signature left within the manuscript'.⁴⁹ Records show that the first two payments Ausquier received were for seven *quinterns* and the 'remaining' eleven *quinterns*. Reynolds, following Hamm's assertion that the manuscript began with gathering 7, has shown that these eighteen gatherings, which appear to have constituted a unified set, extend to the last folio of gathering 24, concluding with the last Magnificat that Ausquier copied. The division of seven and eleven gatherings appears to correspond to the changes in scribal details. The seven earliest copied gatherings, consisting of the seven Masses copied in gatherings 7–13, all have 'larger, more ornate brown-ink initials, occasionally elaborated with humorously drawn animals or faces'.⁵⁰

As well as changes in the design of the initials, this seven-gathering section contains other scribal details that appear only here, including the only composer attribution, a motto that Reynolds suggests may be connected with Rome, and a direction to a particular singer to change the page in *Soyez emprentich* (M51).⁵¹ The initial seven-gathering section

⁴⁸ Reynolds (1981), 272.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 272–3.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 276.

⁵¹ Ibid., 276–7.

corresponds to section 2 in appendix 2.8, with the remaining eleven gatherings corresponding to section 1.

Reynolds has shown that the first two sections of the manuscript were copied from two earlier manuscripts. The first of these (forming the eleven gatherings of section 1) was copied 1458–61 whilst the second (forming the seven gatherings of section 2) was copied in 1463–7.⁵² Reynolds has demonstrated that the copying of the original manuscript's eleven *quaterns* onto the new manuscript's eleven *quinterns* caused the discrepancy in the amount that Ausquier was paid. The difference in the number of bifolios contained in those is sizeable, with eleven more in the latter. Considering this, Ausquier was paid almost exactly 4.4 bolognini per bifolio in each. If he were copying from eleven *quinterns* to eleven *quinterns*, he would have been paid only 3.5 bolognini per bifolio for the second section: significantly less than he was paid for the first seven gatherings copied.⁵³

The final work which Ausquier performed on the manuscript presumably added gatherings 1–6 and 25–7. Sadly, the records of payment for this are less precise. Gatherings 25–7 are not relevant to the present study as they contain no Mass cycles. Interestingly, Reynolds suggests that the Mass cycles in gatherings 1–6 are new additions by Ausquier, rather than copied from existing choirbooks.⁵⁴

⁵² Reynolds (1981), 281–92.

⁵³ Ibid., 281–2.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 294.

For the present discussion, it is proposed that tracing the contents of SPB80 and both of its hypothetical exemplars makes best sense. Ausquier clearly chose to copy the English contents of the two exemplars into SPB80, a manuscript that shows obvious signs of use, so these English Masses were still considered relevant after 1475. However, the presence of these English works can also be traced in Roman choirbooks from 1458 and 1463.

Verona 755

Verona 755 consists of two originally separate manuscripts, copied by different scribes and later bound together.⁵⁵ The only English cycle is found in section I, consisting of folios 1–110.⁵⁶ Roth has shown many links between I-RVat CS14 and 51 and the first section of Verona 755. It seems that this manuscript must be considered as having much more in common with I-RVat CS14 than with the other manuscript with a Verona shelfmark. Roth describes this relationship as follows:

The collection of CS 14/15 and the main body of Verona 755 represent a kind of nucleus of the polyphonic Ordinary settings of the Aragonese court chapel in Naples in the first half of the 1470s. When and under what circumstances the main corpus of Verona 755 passed to Verona, still requires clarification.⁵⁷

It is perhaps telling that both I-Rvat CS14 and Verona 755 transmit a largely Franco-Flemish repertoire, but contain one English Mass cycle

⁵⁵ Adalbert Roth, *Studien zum Frühen Repertoire der Päpstlichen Kapelle unter dem Pontifikat Sixtus' IV (1471–1484). Die Chorbücher 14 und 51 des Fondo Cappella Sistina der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. (Città del Vaticano, 1991), 556–66.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 557.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 565–6. Translated from German.

each. The relationship between England and Naples has already been discussed in chapter 1 and it seems clear that the Neapolitan court had access to English music, even if only through the mediation of Burgundian lands. Both of the manuscripts with Neapolitan connections (CS14 and Verona 755) appear to be testament to the continued influence of English music across the continent, long after its initial dissemination.

D-LEu 1084

This manuscript contains a collection of polyphony added to the end of a manuscript containing miscellaneous writings. According to Tom Ward, the music was copied c.1458.⁵⁸ The only Mass cycle present is a fragment of the Gloria of Dunstaple's *Da Gaudiorum* Mass. It is not the only English work in the source, however, since it contains also an anonymous band I Credo, a *contrafactum* of Bedynghe's *O rosa bella* and a *Virgo maria* by Dunstaple.⁵⁹

Tom Ward has noted that Central European sources often copied works from Western European sources shortly after they were first copied, but then continued to copy them long after they became considered old-fashioned in the west.⁶⁰ These old-fashioned works were augmented with more recent compositions by local composers, such as Petrus Wilhelmi.

⁵⁸ Tom R. Ward, 'Music in the University: The Manuscript Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084', *Gestalt und Entstehung Musikalischer Quellen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 28.

⁵⁹ Tom R. Ward, 'Music in the Library of Johannes Klein' in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, John Kmetz (ed.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 69–71.

⁶⁰ Ward (1998), 28.

Dunstaple's *Da Gaudiorum* Mass (M5) is clearly one of these old-fashioned works, copied long after first reaching the continent and, indeed, significantly later than its contemporaries. This manuscript will not be considered further as it appears to preserve older works than are otherwise under investigation.

Verona 759

The manuscript Verona 759 contains only one English work. This is the three-voice cycle named the 'Two-Kyries Mass' by Kirkman.⁶¹ The unusual transmission of this cycle later will be returned to later. The manuscript appears to have been copied c.1480–90 and was conceived in three clear liturgically defined sections.⁶² The English Mass was copied in section I, by scribe A'.⁶³ The manuscript appears to have been copied in Verona, but transmits a mainly Franco-Flemish repertoire.⁶⁴ Clearly the Mass must have been old when it was eventually copied into the manuscript. This again seems indicative of English music becoming part of the main European repertory from which it was then copied into more peripheral manuscripts, rather than the scribe of Verona 759 having a particular interest in English works.

⁶¹ Kirkman (1994), 180–99.

⁶² *Codex VEcap 759 (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 15th century)*, Georgio Bussolin and Stefano Zanusi Fortes (eds.), MS (Bologna: Orpheus, 2006), XVI.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XXV, XXXIII.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, IX–XI.

I-Md 2269

I-Md 2269 is a set of part books listed in the census catalogue as having been compiled c.1484–90 by Franchino Gaffuri for the Cathedral choir in Milan.⁶⁵ The sole English work found within is a motet that may be part of a Mass-motet cycle with the anonymous *O rosa bella* Mass (M41). The links between the Mass and motet will be discussed in chapter 4. The motet is also found in the Strahov manuscript, a source copied some 14–24 years earlier, whilst the Mass can be found in Tr88, copied some two or three decades earlier. Milan 2269, therefore, seems to be on the very periphery of the phenomenon under investigation.

The source itself contains no items of the Mass Ordinary and the main composers represented, Gaffurius and Weerbeke, were only just born when the *O rosa bella* Mass (M41) was first copied into Trent 88.⁶⁶ Whilst the manuscript is testament to the longevity of this particular motet, it has little else to offer the current study and will therefore not be considered any further.

Lyon 6632

The final manuscript to discuss is Lyon 6632. Fiona Shand has recently suggested a copying date of 1490–1510 for this manuscript,⁶⁷ making it

⁶⁵ *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550* 5 vols., Renaissance Manuscript Studies (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler Verlag, 1979–88) 2, 151 and 4, 438.

⁶⁶ Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Gaffurius [Gafurius], Franchinus [Lanfranchinus] [Gaffuri, Franchino]' in *NGD*. Gerhard Croll and Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, 'Weerbeke [Werbeke, Werbeck], Gaspar [Jaspar, Gaspart] van' in *NGD*.

⁶⁷ Fiona Shand, 'A New Continental Source of a Fifteenth-Century English Mass', *M&L*, 88 (2007), 405.

the latest in this study. It preserves only one English Mass, though Shand does suggest possible English origin for another Mass in this manuscript.⁶⁸ Lyon 6632 is rather later than the period of study of this thesis so will not be discussed in detail. It does, however, stand testament to the popularity of the 'Two Kyries' Mass, occurring as it does in the two latest surviving manuscripts. As Shand has demonstrated, this particular version of the Mass appears to be distinct from all other versions of it;⁶⁹ moreover it has had a fourth voice added, apparently before reaching Lyon 6632.⁷⁰ Clearly, the anonymous *Sine nomine* (M50) had huge and enduring popularity which continued into the sixteenth century. It may even have been 'modernised' with a fourth voice for this reason.

Conclusions

English music travelled a great deal from continental source to continental source and, in doing so, could end up in manuscripts with little connection to England. A more nuanced understanding of the stages of copying of the continental sources of English Mass cycles can help more accurately to date the points at which each band appears to have been copied. The latest date that a band I Mass is copied is 1456–60/2. This dating is for the remaining movements of *Fuit homo missus* (M56), copied early in Tr88. Sadly, this Mass is copied on one of the few gatherings for which a date has not yet been provided. Despite this, it appears to be quite early

⁶⁸ Shand (2007), 416.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 409–11.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

in the manuscript and is likely to have been from a date closer to 1456 than to 1462. In general, it seems that band I Masses were considered out-of-date by the late 1450s, since the remaining band I Masses were copied by 1455 at the latest.

Band II Masses were first copied into continental sources c.1450–3. This gives the two bands remarkably little time in which both were in continental circulation. Whilst band II Masses were copied until the cusp of the sixteenth century, no new band II Mass can be found after 1469–76. Every Mass copied after this date can be found in earlier manuscripts and shows signs of being the result of a long period of continental dissemination. Due to this, it seems that, with some confidence, a date range of c.1450–75 can be suggested for the dissemination of new band II Mass music on the continent.

After their initial popularity c.1450–75, band II English cycles eventually became part of the common central European repertory and were transmitted as such for some 25 further years. In some cases, such as the 'Two Kyries' Mass (M50), these band II Masses underwent stylistic and liturgical transformations in order to remain current and useful.

Chapter 3

Innovation and Adaptation: The English Mass Cycle into the Mid-Century

As noted in the introduction, this thesis focusses upon English Mass cycles of the mid-century – those classified by Curtis and Wathey as belonging to the second of their three stylistic bands. Until now, no attempt has been made in this thesis to define the band II Mass cycle, either in terms of dating or of style. Indeed, the band system suggested by Curtis and Wathey has been accepted without comment. This chapter will focus on precisely this issue, the definition of the band II English Mass cycle.

It will be shown that the current banding system should not be seen simply as a chronological definition since it covers clear differences in compositional practice. Further to this, it will be demonstrated that some Masses blur the boundary between band I and II. These Masses appear to be copied at a period of overlapping copying for both bands in continental sources. This thesis therefore proposes a transitional band – splitting band I into band Ia and band Ib. The accepted banding of some English cycles will also be commented on, suggesting that a different band might be more appropriate than those proposed by Curtis and Wathey.

This chapter will proceed by first looking at the stylistic 'layers' proposed by Curtis for the English Mass repertory of 1400–50 (3.1).¹

¹ Gareth Curtis, 'Stylistic Layers in the English Mass Repertory c.1400–1450', *PRMA*, 109 (1982–3), 23–38.

These stylistic 'layers' describe differences in style within the first half of the fifteenth century in much greater depth than the later chronological bands. Having considered the earlier system of stylistic layers, the argument will proceed to a discussion of chronological banding for the fifteenth century and specifically the issue of the data upon which such a system should be based. It will be shown that the most appropriate data are dates of copying into continental manuscripts (**3.2**). Of course, works were often copied into sources that differ greatly in age, and there may be no way of knowing precisely where in any *stemma* the surviving copies of a work may have been. An analysis of the handling of mensural and textural groundplans in the surviving Mass cycles will therefore be performed in order to demonstrate the clear stylistic differences in early- and mid-century works (**3.3**). This, when cross-referenced with the source distribution of the Mass cycles, will allow for a more in-depth chronological breakdown. Following the analysis of mensural and textural groundplans, the focus will shift to another pre-compositional factor – the number and disposition of voices within the cycle (**3.4**). Again, this will be useful in producing a more detailed chronology (**3.5**). A deeper understanding of the changes in compositional practice of English composers around the mid-fifteenth century will help in determining the provenance of some Mass cycles.

3.1 Stylistic layers 1400–1450

Gareth Curtis, before the publication of the Curtis and Wathey handlist, provided an excellent assessment of the stylistic changes in Mass composition in the first half of the century. His work offers an important first step in understanding this repertory, outlining the key trends in compositional practice up to c.1450.

Curtis notes that a study of mensural practice offers one of the best ways by which to differentiate the styles and practices within the first half of the century. He begins by sketching three different treatments of mensural practice, offering three distinct 'layers', as follows:²

- i) Those [works] based on C and/or C time, with movement mainly in semibreves and minims.
- ii) Those [works] using O and/or C time, with movement mainly in breves and semibreves. In these pieces, either or both signatures may have strokes through them in continental manuscripts.
- iii) Those [works] using O time with movement mainly in semibreves and minims, and C time mainly in breves and semibreves (or, in a few pieces, in semibreves and minims). If the former, it is often expressed as C in continental manuscripts. In the O time sections, the most obvious distinction between pieces of this type and those of type (ii) is greater amount of syncopation here, especially across the modern bar-line.

Curtis further notes additional stylistic trends that appear to be related to each of these layers.³

Layer	Stylistic Features
(i)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Extensive use of isorhythm, canon and <i>cursiva</i> techniques• No full Mass cycles; some <i>cursiva</i> settings scored for two high voices and a tenor a fifth lower• Usually scored for high-low-low, with the tenor and contra a fifth below the discantus• If three-part, then more active top part over harmonic contra and tenor

² Curtis (1982–3), 24.

³ Entabulated from *ibid.*, 25–38.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If four part then two high and two low voices, the higher two more active over harmonic lower two • Duo sections • Strong semiminim beat • Fairly conjunct melody with the occasional leap of a third • Melody heavily articulated by frequent cadences • Few of the common English melodic figures
(ii)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No use of isorhythm, canon and <i>cursiva</i> techniques • no full Mass cycles • usually scored for high-low-low, with the tenor and contra a fifth below the discantus • if three-part, then more active top part over harmonic contra and tenor • if four-part, then two high and two low voices, the higher two more active over harmonic lower two • much more florid style than (i) • duo sections • strong breve beat • less cadence-orientated melody than (i) • introduction of semibreve-minim semibreve-minim pattern • auxiliary and anticipatory notes more common than in (i)
(iii)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • some use of isorhythm, canon and <i>cursiva</i> techniques • some full Mass cycles, using freer <i>cantus firmus</i> technique and a set structure for each movement • usually scored for high-low-low, with the tenor and contra a fifth below the discantus • active contra and discantus over a harmonic tenor • if four-part then one high, two middle and one low voice, with the tenor in the middle and the tenor and bass providing a slower harmonic basis for more mobile discantus and contra • even more likely than (i) and (ii) to include duo sections • regular pulse plays a less conspicuous role • more rambling melodic lines • use of common English figures • more systematic approach to dissonance leading to music that appears more consonant at face value

Most importantly, Curtis notes that single movements and pairs can be found in all layers, but that cycles appear only in layer 3. There is one notable exception, the *Sine nomine* by Benet (M44), which Curtis notes is somewhat anomalous and occurs in Bologna Q15, which otherwise has no

layer 3 works. The ambiguity to which Curtis refers is surely the use of C in the discantus. This particular mensuration is utilised by other layer 3 cycles but only in the tenor. When used in augmentation against O in other voices this is an example of what Tinctoris refers to as the '*error Anglorum*'.

Curtis suggests that works from all layers were transmitted to the continent following a broad chronological distribution: I-BU 2216 and Bologna Q15 containing no Mass music from layer 3, Aosta containing some of each stylistic type, Tr92 beginning to show a marked preference for layer 3 and, by Tr87, types 1 and 2 having all but disappeared.⁴

More recently, Curtis has again commented on the stylistic layering of the early English Mass cycles. He notes that Benet's *Sine nomine* (M44) seems to be a transitional Mass cycle, due to its rather short phrasing, and such conservative harmonic features as the frequent runs of parallel fifths.⁵ This assessment seems correct, especially since the Mass is certainly the earliest surviving to be transmitted. Certainly, this Mass seems stylistically earlier than the rest of band I and should probably be viewed as the earliest Mass cycle of this band.

Whilst clearly useful in identifying stylistic changes for the band I repertory, Curtis' work must be taken further in order to consider the band II repertory. Indeed, Curtis' stylistic layers do not differentiate

⁴ Curtis (1982-3), 34. This does not take into account that parts of Tr87 and Tr92 are contemporary. Curtis presumably means that music from the earlier two stylistic layers is concentrated in Tr92-1, generally considered slightly earlier than Tr87.

⁵ *FCLM, IV: Early Masses and Mass Pairs*, Gareth Curtis (ed.), EECM, 42 (Stainer and Bell: London, 2001), ix.

between band I Mass cycles and those of band II (other than Benet's *Sine nomine* (M44)). It would be unfair to criticise him unduly for this, since his work on stylistic layers predates his work on chronological bandings. However, there are clear differences in style between bands I and II that will enable a more nuanced view of English fifteenth-century Mass cycles to be taken. With this in mind, the argument will first proceed to a discussion of the factors on which a proposed chronological banding could be based, before continuing with a stylistic analysis.

3.2 A chronological banding for the fifteenth-century English

Mass repertory

Rather than proposing an entirely new banding system for the English Mass repertory, this thesis takes the pioneering work of Curtis and Wathey as a starting point. According to them, '[b]and I embraces music from the beginning of the century to the end of Dunstaple's musical career,' whilst '[b]and II comprises music of the mid-century, written by a subsequent generation of composers, including Frye and Plummer.'⁶ Finally, band III 'includes the repertories of the Eton Choirbook and of other sources dating from the last third of the fifteenth century'.⁷

These chronological bands are necessarily fairly approximate. The work of Curtis and Wathey has been absolutely vital to the study of this repertory and, for the purposes of an introductory handlist, an

⁶ Curtis and Wathey (1994), 1.

⁷ Ibid.

approximate chronology is perfectly acceptable. Perhaps it is now time, however, to sharpen this chronology.

Most chronologies are based on suggested dates of composition and supplemented by biographical information, analytical insight and source dating. However, the destruction of fifteenth-century English sources, as outlined in the introduction to this thesis, leaves little on which to base dates of composition. Further to this, biographical information, though scarce, presents a complex and slightly contradictory picture. In general, it seems that judging the chronology of the fifteenth-century English repertory by apparent dates of composition and by biographical information alone can yield little more precise dating than that already suggested by Curtis and Wathey.

Perhaps the best source of biographical information is the earliest surviving Bede roll of the London Guild of Parish Clerks.⁸ This organisation controlled the right to work as a parish clerk in London,⁹ and the Bede roll therefore contains information pertaining to a great many English composers. It lists the musicians who were already members in the year 1449, including the band II composers Bedyngham and Plummer and the band I composers Sturgeon and Benet, continuing to list all members who joined or died each year until 1521. As well as Bedyngham and Plummer, who evidently joined before 1449, Walter Frye joins the confraternity only in 1457. This is most likely due to Frye not being from

⁸ Guildhall library, London, MS 4889/PC.

⁹ Hugh Baillie, 'A London Gild of Musicians 1460-1530', *JRMA*, 83 (1956-7), 19-20.

London and entering into the confraternity when visiting the capital, already at the height of his popularity.¹⁰

Even ignoring the apparently late date of Frye's membership, there are clear overlaps between composers from different chronological bands. The band II composers Bedyngham and Plummer were clearly active in the same city, at the same time as the band I composers Sturgeon (d. c. 1454)¹¹ and Benet (d. c.1458),¹² for at least five and nine years respectively. Given that the band III composer Banaster entered the guild in 1456,¹³ a year before Frye and two years before the death of Benet, there were actually composers from all three bands active within the same city for two years. Moreover, the two Masses that are often considered the earliest of band II, *Caput* and *Quem malignus spiritus* (M6 and M7), are believed to have been composed c.1440, well within the time that Sturgeon and Benet were still listed as parish clerks (and potentially still musically active) and that Dunstaple was alive.

It would be unfair to criticise the Curtis and Wathey bands on this basis alone. Clearly, any chronologically defined bands must overlap. However, it is obvious that it is not possible to offer a much more detailed chronology from surviving biographical details and that little can be gained from the very few dates of composition that have been suggested. Whilst the biographical details concerning English composers are useful in

¹⁰ Baillie (1956-7), 21.

¹¹ Ibid. 19-20.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

sketching a chronology, the most complete picture of English music, and the one that forms the most appropriate chronological definition of bands for English Mass cycles, is through their dissemination in continental sources.

Benet's *Sine nomine* (M44), copied into the initial part of Bologna Q15 c.1420–5,¹⁴ is the earliest English Mass cycle to be copied into a continental manuscript. As noted above, this Mass is stylistically very different than from band I Mass cycles and Curtis has suggested that it may well be the earliest surviving English example. Alexis Luko argues that this Mass may have been composed c.1410–15, in which case it would have taken around ten years to reach the continent.¹⁵

The remaining band I Mass cycles copied early in the fifteenth century are *Rex seculorum* attributed to both Dunstaple and Power (M3), the *Sine nomine* Mass variously attributed to Benet, Dunstaple and Power (M4), Dunstaple's *Da gaudiorum* (M5), *Jacet granum*, attributed to Benet (M42), Power's *Alma redemptoris mater* (M43) and *Fuit homo missus* (M56). The earliest of these Masses appears to be *Rex seculorum*, copied

¹⁴ For the dating of the sections of this manuscript see Margaret Bent, 'A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative', *MD*, 41 (1987), 183–201. See also, Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008).

¹⁵ Luko (2007), 173. It is seemingly assumed to have taken ten years for an English work to reach the continent, since both *Quem malignus spiritus* and *Caput* are dated c.1440 and first copied c.1450 (though they could have been copied into earlier, no-longer-extant continental manuscripts). This seems a rather long transition, especially given the clear continental interest in English music and the many routes by which English music could reach Europe. As shown in chapter 1, it appears also that there were several English composers and English institutions on the continent. These, surely, would have produced and consumed more up-to-date music than this. However, given the paucity of information, a shorter timeframe cannot be proved. Since the dating here is based mainly on dates of continental copying, this is not too problematic.

in the mid-1430s. Very shortly after this (and quite possibly overlapping) there is an upturn in the copying of English cycles in continental sources c.1430–40. A date of c.1420 is therefore proposed as the *terminus post quem* for the copying of band I cycles on the continent, with the majority copied c.1430–40. As demonstrated in chapter 2, the very last band I Masses are copied in the late 1450s. This date seems to be a good *terminus ante quem* for band I. This corresponds to the surviving biographical data, since Sturgeon died c.1454 and Benet c.1458.

Returning to the band II repertory, it seems that these Masses were copied into continental sources c.1450–75. This is apparently at odds with the dates at which Bedyngham and Plummer were active. Both composers were already within the Guild of Parish Clerks by 1449 and would therefore surely have been active before this date. Indeed, if Plummer's supposed birth date of c.1410 is correct,¹⁶ he was probably active as a composer from the 1430s. Bedyngham, who died some twenty-five years before Plummer,¹⁷ may have been an older colleague, writing music even earlier.

This is not actually too challenging since it may have taken several years for English music to reach continental sources and band II composers could have written band I works earlier in their careers. Moreover, since the focus is purely on the dates of copying for these

¹⁶ Brian Trowell, 'Plummer [Plomer, Plourmel, Plumere, Polmier, Polumier], John' in *NGD*.

¹⁷ David Fallows, 'Bedyngham [Bedyngheham, Bedingham, Bodigham, Bellingan, Benigun; perhaps also Boddenham, Bodenham, Bodneham and Bodnam], Johannes' in *NGD*.

works in continental sources, discrepancies between these and biographical information is not an issue.

A proposed dating for band III, based purely on dates of continental copying, is impossible since none survive in continental sources. This is not too problematic, since it is on the band II repertory that this thesis focusses. The dating of band III will be briefly commented upon in the conclusion of this chapter.

It is clear that throughout the 1450s Mass cycles defined as band I and band II were copied into continental sources. Consequently, a chronological approach to the definition of these bands does not present the full picture and analysis is required in order to demonstrate differences in compositional style between the two bands. With this in mind, the argument will initially focus on differences in mensural and textural groundplans.

3.3 Mensural and textural groundplans in English Mass cycles

The complex, integrated structural plans that govern the mensuration and texture of many fifteenth-century English Mass cycles have been widely discussed in the literature.¹⁸ However, far from being present in every English Mass cycle, the use of structural plans changed dramatically within the course of the century. For the present, the focus will be upon mensural and textural groundplans. It will be shown that band I English

¹⁸See, for example, Hamm (1968), 60 for a discussion of mensural groundplans and the tendency to begin movements with duets.

Mass cycles avoided using the same mensural plans in all movements. Further, if used at all, contrasting textural schemes are developed along the divide of Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus Mass pairs. Conversely, band II Masses generally utilised the same coherent mensural and textural plans across all movements. There is a small group of Masses, however, which appear to fall between bands I and II. Generally, these Masses seem to share stylistic features from both bands, and moreover appear to have undergone continental transmission at a time of overlap between the copying of band I and band II Masses.

A: Mensural groundplans

Firstly, the use of mensural groundplans (i.e the repeated use of the same succession of mensurations in each movement of a cycle) will be considered. This concept was first discussed by Charles Hamm, who noted that OC, OCO, OCOC, OCOCO or COC were commonly recurring mensural patterns in English works.¹⁹ For now, the focus is upon the relative strictness with which each Mass applies its mensural scheme.²⁰

Of the eleven surviving band I Mass cycles, ten are sufficiently intact for their apparent mensural plans to be investigated. These Masses are as follows: *Rex seculorum*, attributed to Dunstaple or Power (M3); the

¹⁹ Hamm (1968), 60

²⁰ For the purposes of this discussion, the use of C rather than C will not necessarily be counted as a departure from a mensural scheme, due to the extreme frequency with which C was copied as C in continental sources. (See *FCLM*, II, xiv.) As this was not practised in any sort of regular way, it becomes almost impossible to judge whether a change from C to C within a movement was scribal or compositional and whether it would have had any effect in performance.

Sine nomine Mass variously attributed to Benet, Dunstaple and Power (M4); Dunstaple's *Da gaudiorum* (M5); *Requiem eternam* (M16); *Salve sancta parens* (M21); *Jacet granum*, attributed to Benet (M42); Leonel's *Alma redemptoris mater* (M43); Benet's *Sine nomine* (M44); *Alma redemptoris mater* (M53); and *Fuit homo missus* (M56). Appendix 3.1 shows the mensural groundplans used in these Mass cycles.

As demonstrated in appendix 3.1, only two of these Masses, *Fuit homo missus* (M56) and *Salve sancta parens* (M21), definitely have strict mensural groundplans that present the same succession of mensurations in each voice and each movement. These Masses are two of only four for which every movement survives. The other two complete five-movement cycles, *Rex seculorum* (M3) and the Benet/Dunstaple/Power *Sine nomine* (M4), do not keep the same mensural scheme in every movement. In both cases, and in other Masses that generally display two mensural changes, the *Agnus Dei* only has one, perhaps due to the shorter text.

Each of the remaining six Mass cycles has one or more movements missing, obscuring possible mensural groundplans. The *Da gaudiorum* (M5), *Requiem eternam* (M16), *Jacet granum* (M42) and *Alma redemptoris* (M53) Masses all lack at least the *Agnus Dei*, the movement most likely to depart from the prevailing mensural scheme. Therefore, many of these missing movements are unlikely to have followed the schema.

Despite the lack of several movements from the abovementioned Mass cycles, all but one have at least one departure from their mensural

schemes. Only *Da gaudiorum* currently follows its mensural scheme, though the missing *Agnus Dei* most likely departed from this.

Many band I Masses present different mensurations in different voices simultaneously. This technique is used in *Requiem eternam* (M16), *Alma redemptoris* (M43), Benet's *Sine nomine* (M44) and *Alma redemptoris* (M53). Power's *Alma redemptoris* (M43), exhibits a strict mensural scheme other than this and therefore could be described as strict. However, as will be shown below, this is completely different to the application of strict mensural plans in band II, since they never simultaneously present different mensurations.

Despite what is stated in its current edition, the same mensural technique may have been used in *Requiem eternam* (M16).²¹ The edition gives the second change of mensuration in the tenor of the Gloria as O, like each of the other voices. However, this voice is editorially reconstructed from the tenor of the Credo that presents the tenor in C. Clearly, this movement should also have C in the tenor line, especially since augmentation of the tenor is obviously intended for this section of the edition too. If this were the case, then this cycle may well have been strict in the application of its mensural plan, especially since it also seems relatively strict in the application of its textural scheme, as will be shown later.

²¹ *FCLM*, IV, 14–29.

It is clear that only two band I Masses (*Salve sancta parens* (M21) and *Fuit homo missus* (M56)) can be definitively shown to have consistent mensural plans in every voice and every movement. Conversely, seven can be shown to depart from their mensural groundplan in at least one movement or to have different mensurations simultaneously. The cycle for which it is impossible to judge (*Da gaudiorum* (M5)) lacks the Agnus dei, the movement which most often appears to depart from the mensural scheme in band I Masses.

Within band II, however, the opposite is true (appendix 3.2). Of the thirty-four band II cycles that have been edited, twenty-two conform strictly to a mensural plan.²² Of the twelve remaining Masses, eight depart from their mensural schemes in a single movement, a common occurrence in band I. Importantly, two of these eight Masses have had their English provenance questioned, Pullois' *Sine nomine* (M33) and Simon de Insula's *O admirabile commercium* (M58). Further to this, one of the remaining six Masses (Standley's *Sine nomine* (M34)) may be incomplete rather than having originally departed from its mensural scheme.²³

As well as those cycles with a single departure from their prevailing schema, three appear to depart from this in two movements. One of these Masses is the continental *So ys emprentid* by Le Rouge (M51).²⁴

²² It should be noted that three of these Mass cycles are partially preserved but still do give every indication of following a strict mensural plan.

²³ See the detailed discussion of mensural scheme for this Mass in chapter 5.

²⁴ See chapters 4 and 5 for the English context of this Mass.

Another, *Thomas cesus* (M52), as will be argued in chapters 4, 5 and 6, also appears to be of continental origin. This leaves only one Mass to depart from its mensural scheme in two movements, *Veni creator spiritus* (M39). This cycle is generally accepted as being English. However, Kirkman, has noted that 'its place of origin remains unclear'.²⁵ As will be demonstrated later, this cycle is anomalous in a great many ways and does not easily fit within either the English or continental repertory. Finally, the anonymous *Puisque m'amour* Mass (M57) does not appear to have any mensural plan. This Mass has again been suggested to be of continental rather than English origin.

For the band II repertory, twenty-two cycles follow a strict mensural plan, with only five solidly English Masses departing from their mensural scheme in any way: the Bedyngham, Cox, Tik and anonymous *Sine nomine* Masses (M15, M29, M35 and M62) and Standley's *Ad fugam* Mass (M59). Most of these anomalous Masses, despite being of English origin, display elements of continental influence (see chapters 4 and 5).

Strict mensural planning is obviously a key compositional principle that differentiates bands I and II. Whether those apparently anomalous Masses from either band are incorrectly categorised, belong to a transitional period, or should be considered continental/continental influenced is something that will be discussed later.

²⁵ Kirkman (1995), 155.

B: Textural groundplans

Unlike mensural groundplans, the application of 'textural groundplans' is not something that has been previously discussed. The prevalence of the opening duet in English Mass cycles is well known,²⁶ as is the tendency for duet and full-voice sections to articulate particular liturgical points.²⁷


However, as will be shown, band II English Mass cycles do this within a strict framework of textural changes that is broadly similar in every movement of a Mass cycle. The common occurrence of opening duets could represent just one aspect of these textural groundplans.

In determining textural groundplans, any two-bar section of a particular texture is counted. Any change in texture for less than this duration is discounted. When dealing with canonic openings that have staggered entries of less than two bars, openings have been normalised, as if they began at the same time. For ease of reference, the data for each Mass has been entabulated to give an easy visual representation. The following key to these tables may be useful:

²⁶ Hamm (1968), 60.

²⁷ For instance, Kirkman notes the tendency to set the Benedictus with a duet in the majority of *cantus firmus* Masses. See Kirkman (2010), 204.

Key to textural groundplan tables

D	Discantus
C	Contratenor
T	Tenor
Cb	contratenor bassus
3vv	three-voice (in a three-voice Mass)
4vv	four-voice (in a four-voice Mass)
DC; DT;DCCb; etc.	discantus-contratenor duet; discantus-tenor duet; discantus, contratenor and contratenor bassus trio; etc.
	denotes the presence of a double barline in the score

The application of textural groundplans differs greatly between band I and band II (see appendices 4.1 and 4.2). Only two band I Masses have relatively strict textural plans – *Salve sancta parens* (M21) and *Fuit homo missus* (M56), precisely the two Masses that appeared to have unusually strict mensural schemes.

Salve sancta parens is the only band I cycle to follow an absolutely strict textural plan. Figure 1 shows the mensural and textural groundplan for *Salve sancta parens*, outlining its strict adherence to absolutely the same succession of textures and mensurations in every movement.

Gloria		Credo		Sanctus		Angus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	DC	O	DC	O	DC	O	DC
	4vv		4vv		4vv		4vv
	DC		DC		DC		DC
	4vv		4vv		4vv		4vv
C	4vv	C	4vv	C	4vv	C	4vv
O	4vv	O	4vv	O	4vv	O	4vv

Figure 1 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)

Fuit homo missus, whilst utilising a wholly strict mensural and textural plan, does so in a different manner to *Salve sancta parens*. Figure 2 shows the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo of this Mass, demonstrating that these also have a strict adherence to the same succession of textures and mensurations.

Kyrie		Gloria		Credo	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	DC	O	DC	O	DC
	3vv		3vv		3vv
	DC		DC		DC
	3vv		3vv		3vv
C	DC	C	DC	C	DC
	3vv		3vv		3vv
O	3vv	O	3vv	O	3vv

Figure 2 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)

Whilst the opening three movements are governed by a clear groundplan, this is not followed in the Sanctus and Agnus. Figure 3 shows these last two movements, demonstrating that they also appear to follow a groundplan (apart from one missing a discantus-contratenor duet within the Agnus), but one that differs from the opening movements.

Sanctus		Agnus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	3vv	O	3vv
	DC		DC
	3vv		3vv
	DC		DC
C	3vv	C	3vv
	DC		
O	3vv	O	3vv

Figure 3 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)

A comparison of Figures 2 and 3 shows that the important structural points – the movement openings and the initial mensural changes – are articulated by contrasting textures.

Given the history of composing Gloria/Credo and Sanctus/Agnus Mass pairs as discrete units, it perhaps makes sense to suggest that early forays into the practice of textural groundplanning would utilise exactly this division.

Further evidence of what will henceforth be referred to as ‘bi-schematicism’ is easy to find within the band I repertory. To a less strict degree, it can be seen in the Benet/Dunstaple/Power *Sine nomine* (M4). Whilst this Mass does not conform strictly to a mensural plan, it has two contrasting textural plans, one for the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo, and another for the Sanctus and Agnus. Figure 4 shows the first three movements, demonstrating that the Kyrie is slightly altered from the

Gloria and Credo but that it is broadly similar to the other two movements.

Kyrie		Gloria		Credo	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	DC	O	DC	O	DC
	3vv		3vv		3vv
	CT				
	3vv				
C	DC	C	DT	C	DT
	3vv		3vv		3vv
O	3vv	O	3vv	O	3vv

Figure 4 (edition consulted: *John Dunstable Complete Works*)

Figure 5 demonstrates that, as with *Fuit homo missus* (M56), the Sanctus and Agnus groundplan seems to be chosen to be contrasting. The lack of a final O section in the Agnus has heavily distorted the textural plan within this movement, but it still seems to follow the pattern set by the Sanctus, rather than the earlier three movements.

Sanctus		Agnus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	3vv	O	3vv
	DC		DC
C	3vv	C	3vv
	DC		
O	3vv		
	DC		
	3vv		

Figure 5 (edition consulted: *John Dunstable Complete Works*)

Something akin to bi-schematicism has been noted in the motto handling by Alexis Luko, who shows that the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo are unified by one motto type, whilst the Sanctus and Agnus are unified by another. ²⁸

Figure 6 shows the opening three movements of Dunstable/Power’s *Rex seculorum* (M3), another Mass that demonstrates a degree of bi-schematicism. Whilst each movement begins with a reduced texture, any attempt at textural groundplanning subsequently appears to unravel. Unlike those Masses with stricter textural plans, the first mensural change does not always have the same texture and the Credo has many additional duets. Perhaps a rough textural groundplan was envisaged for these movements, but it is certainly not strictly applied.

²⁸ Luko (2007), 188.

Kyrie		Gloria		Credo	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	DC	O	DC	O	DC
	?3vv		CT		3vv
			3vv		DC
					CT
					DT
					DC
					3vv
C	DT	C	3vv	C	DT
	?3vv				3vv
	DC				DC
	?3vv				CT
					3vv
		O	DT	O	DT
			3vv		3vv
			DT		
			3vv		

Figure 6 (edition consulted: *John Dunstable Complete Works*)

Figure 7 shows the Sanctus and Agnus of *Rex seculorum* (M3). These movements have a stricter textural groundplan, though the mensural and textural groundplanning appears to have become somewhat misaligned in the Agnus.²⁹ Though both movements follow exactly the same alternation of full-voice and duet passages (albeit occasionally with different voices in the duets), the mensural change in the Agnus falls later and therefore occurs on a duet, rather than a full-voice section.

²⁹ As will be shown in chapter 5, this actually has the effect of placing the two mensural changes at the most common points within the text in English cycles.

Sanctus		Agnus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	3vv	O	3vv
	DC		DC
	3vv		3vv
	DT		DT
C	3vv	C	3vv
			CT
	DT		3vv
O	3vv	O	DC
	CT		3vv
	3vv		

Figure 7 (edition consulted: *John Dunstable Complete Works*)

As far as the rest of the band I repertory is concerned, only two other cycles possibly have textural schemes worthy of comment. The fragmentary *Jacet granum* (M42) has too many missing movements to permit much comment but clearly cannot show bi-schematicism since the larger textural form of the Gloria and Sanctus roughly corresponds (see figure 8).

Gloria		Sanctus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	3vv	O	3vv
	DC		
	3vv		
	DT		DT
C	3vv	C	3vv
	DC		
	3vv		
O	DT	O	DT
	3vv	C	3vv

Figure 8 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, IV)

Likewise, *Requiem eternam* (M16) may once have had a relatively strict textural plan and, like *Jacet granum*, cannot have been bi-schematic (see figure 9). The remaining band I Masses do not present textural groundplans, bi-schematic or otherwise.

Gloria		Credo		Sanctus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	4vv	O	4vv	O	?4vv
	DCCb		DCCb		?CCb
	4vv		4vv		?4vv
	DC		DCCb		?DCCb
	4vv		4vv		?4vv
			CCbT		
			4vv		
	DC		DC		
C	4vv	C	4vv	C	4vv
	DCb		CCb		
	4vv		4vv		?
O	4vv	O	4vv	O	?4vv
	DCCb		DC		?DC
	4vv		4vv		?4vv

Figure 9 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, IV)

Overall, it appears that band I Masses very seldom demonstrate strict textural groundplanning. When present, groundplans generally take the form of two separate textural plans governing the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo, and the Sanctus and Agnus. *Salve sancta parens* (M21) is the only band I Mass to have a strict textural plan that is the same in every movement. *Fuit homo missus* (M56) also stands alone as the Mass with the most strictly applied bi-schematic textural plan allied with a similarly strict mensural plan.

Band II Masses, by contrast, generally apply strict textural plans that are the same in every movement. This predilection for a greater degree of structural planning is clear across the majority of the band. Thirty-three of the thirty-six band II Mass cycles seem to have varying degrees of strictly applied textural groundplan. Only one securely English Mass cycle makes no apparent attempt at utilising a textural groundplan, Standley's *Sine nomine* (M34). Most interestingly, *Veni creator spiritus* (M39), the origin of which is questioned here, is again anomalous and has no apparent textural groundplan. Both of these Masses remain in full-voice texture for the vast majority of their duration, with only brief forays into duet textures.

Most of the remaining band II cycles are relatively strict in their application of textural groundplans. The degree of strictness does vary, however. The least strict band II Masses, of which there are five securely English examples, follow textural groundplans only at the opening of

movements and at important structural points. Perhaps the best, or at least most famous, example is *Caput* (M7).

Figure 10 shows the textural plan for this Mass cycle. Each movement clearly begins with a discantus-contratenor duet, followed by a four-voice texture. This pattern is precisely the same at the mensural change of each movement.

Kyrie		Gloria		Credo		Sanctus		Agnus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	DC	O	DC	O	DC	O	DC	O	DC
	4vv		4vv		4vv		4vv		4vv
	DC				DC				
	4vv				4vv		DC		DC
	DT2				CT2		DT		DT
	CT2				4vv		DC		CT2
	4vv						4vv		4vv
							4vv		
C	DC	C	DC	C	DC	C	DC	C	DC
	4vv		4vv		4vv		4vv		4vv
	DC				CT2				
	DT2				4vv				
	4vv								

Figure 10 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, VI)

Whilst this is not as strict a textural plan as *Salve sancta parens* (M21), for example, it is still a much greater level of textural groundplanning than would be found in most band I Mass cycles. Crucially, there is also no real evidence of bi-schematicism.³⁰

The majority of band II cycles have only minimal departures from their textural groundplans, a much stricter form than that found in *Caput* (M7) above. A good example of this type of textural groundplan is *Quem*

Kyrie		Gloria		Credo		Sanctus		Agnus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	3vv	O	3vv	O	3vv	O	3vv	O	3vv
	DC		DC		DC		DC		DC
	3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv
	DC		DC		DC		DC		DC
	DC		DC		DC		DC		DC
C	3vv	C	3vv	C	3vv	C	3vv	C	DC
	DC		DC		DC		DC		3vv
	DC		DC		DC		DC		
O	3vv	O	3vv	O	3vv	O	3vv	O	3vv

Figure 11 (edition consulted *FCLM*, VI)

malignus spiritus (M6). Figure 11 gives the textural groundplan for this entire Mass. It is almost exactly reproduced in every movement, deviating from the expected pattern only in the Agnus. Here, a duet section appears at the first mensural change where a three-voice section is expected. Following this, a three-voice section occurs where duets are

³⁰ The Kyrie and Credo seem to be most closely related to each other, as do the Sanctus and Agnus. There is no attempt at contrasting textural groundplans, however.

expected before the return of three voices at the final mensural change. Despite this, the groundplan is generally strikingly similar in every movement. This particular level of strictness for textural groundplans appears to be the norm for band II cycles and is demonstrated in eight Masses.

Whilst strict mensural groundplans with minimal departures are common in band II cycles, absolutely strict groundplans are rare, even in band II. Only one Mass, Plummer’s *Sine nomine* (M1), can definitely be shown to be absolutely strict, though both the anonymous *Sine nomine* (M46) and the anonymous *Te gloriosus* (M47) show every indication of

Kyrie		Gloria		Credo		Sanctus		Agnus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	DC	O	DC	O	DC	O	DC	O	DC
	CT		CT		CT		CT		CT
	3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv
C	DT	C	DT	C	DT		DT		DC
	DC		DC		DC		DC		CT
	3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv
	CT		CT		DC	C	DT	C	DT
	DC		DC		CT		DC		CT
	3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv

Figure 12 (edition consulted *FCLM*, III)

having once been strict, despite their fragmentary state. Figure 12 shows the textural groundplan for Plummer’s *Sine nomine* (M1). At first glance, this Mass appears to follow a bi-schematic textural groundplan with a clear division between the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo, and the Sanctus and Agnus. However, it seems that the composer seeks similarity between the

two structural plans, rather than contrast. The textures still follow in the same succession with only slight changes in duet voicing. The feature which sets the Sanctus and Agnus apart from the earlier movements is the point at which the mensural change occurs within the textural plan. If the text of the movements is mapped onto the textural plan, these changes seem more understandable, as shown in figure 13.

Kyrie			Gloria			Credo			Sanctus			Agnus		
Mensuration	Voices	Text	Mensuration	Voices	Text	Mensuration	Voices	Text	Mensuration	Voices	Text	Mensuration	Voices	Text
O	DC	Kyrie I	O	DC	Et in terra	O	DC	Patrem omnipotentem	O	DC	Sanctus	O	DC	Agnus
	CT	Kyrie II		CT	Gratias		CT	Et in unum		CT	Sanctus		CT	Qui tollis
	3w	Kyrie III		3w	Domine		3w	Et ex patre natum		3w	Dominus deus		3w	Miserere
C	DT	Kyrie IV	C	DT	Qui tollis	C	DT	Qui propter	C	DT	Pleni sunt	C	DC	Agnus
	DC	Kyrie V		DC	Qui sedes		DC	Et incarnatus		DC	Gloria tua		CT	Qui tollis
	3w	Canis matum		3w	Quoniam		3w	Crucifixus		3w	Osanna		3w	Miserere
	CT	Vifice		CT	Tu solus dominus		DC	Et resurrexit		DT	Benedictus		DT	Agnus
	DC	Clemens		DC	Tu solus altissimus		CT	Secundum Scripturas		DC	In nomine		CT	Qui tollis
	3w	Eleyson		3w	Iesu Chrste		3w	Et vitam		3w	Osanna		3w	Peccata

Figure 13 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, III)

Plummer is clearly attempting to follow clear English trends for the positioning of the initial mensural changes in the Sanctus and Agnus, by placing them before the *Benedictus* and the third *Agnus*. If he followed the same groundplan as the earlier movements, the mensural change would occur before the *Pleni sunt* and the second *Agnus*, positions that are generally indicative of continental origin.³¹ Rather than two contrasting textural plans, as might be expected in a band I Mass, Plummer instead creates one consistent groundplan, altering where the mensural change occurred only to fit the compositional demands of the Sanctus and Agnus. This textural groundplan is arguably more strictly applied than that in *Quem malignus spiritus* (M6).

This leaves three band II Mass cycles to be discussed. These cycles all appear to show a degree of the bi-schematicism that is present in some band I Mass cycles. Whilst no Mass approaches the strict bi-schematicism of *Fuit homo missus*, both Frye's *Flos regalis* (M30) and Tik's *Sine nomine* (M35) have only minimal departures from a bi-schematic textural groundplan.

The last of the three Masses yet to be discussed is Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15). Most unusually, the movements linked by textural scheme in this Mass are the Kyrie-Agnus and Gloria-Credo-Sanctus. This

³¹ See Gareth Curtis, 'Jean Pullois and the Cyclic Mass – or a case of Mistaken Identity?', *M&L*, 62 (1981), 52 for comments on trends in the division of the Sanctus text. English and continental practices regarding text division in both movements will be discussed at length in chapter 5 of this thesis.

particular form of textural groundplanning will be discussed at greater length in chapter 5 as it seems to be indicative of continental influence.

Clearly the vast majority of band II Masses (83%) have some degree of relatively strict textural groundplan. This is in direct contrast to the band I cycles that, in general, avoided textural groundplanning altogether. Where present in band I cycles, textural groundplans follow a 'bi-schematic' plan, linking the Kyrie-Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus. This may be suggestive of an earlier dating for the two band II Masses that follow this pattern and perhaps also the Mass that links the Kyrie-Agnus and Gloria-Credo-Sanctus.

In both band I and band II, some Masses clearly apply mensural and textural groundplans anomalously. Most interestingly, those Masses that are anomalous for one of these structural points are often anomalous for both. For band I, *Salve sancta parens* (M21) is unusual in having a consistent mensural plan and an absolutely strict textural groundplan that is the same in every movement. Indeed, the textural groundplan is rather stricter in its application even than most band II cycles. This strictness is further enhanced since this is the only surviving Mass cycle for which every movement is exactly the same length. *Fuit homo missus* (M56) is also anomalous since it has a strictly applied mensural plan and is unusually strict in the application of its textural groundplan (even if this is still bi-schematic).

For the band II Mass cycles, the most clearly anomalous is Tik's *Sine nomine* Mass (M35). This Mass has a bi-schematic textural

groundplan and departs from the mensural scheme in a single movement, in the manner of many band I Masses. Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) also follows the mensural groundplan in all but a single movement. Despite having two contrasting textural schemes, the Mass differs from the usual band I division (Kyrie-Gloria-Credo, Sanctus-Agnus) and follows a division of Kyrie-Agnus, Gloria-Credo-Sanctus. Whilst an alternative suggestion for the unusual textural groundplanning in this Mass will be offered in chapter 5, it is included as a transitional Mass for present purposes.

Standley's *Sine nomine* (M34) may also be transitional, though it is possible that the departure from the mensural scheme here is caused by manuscript damage rather than compositional choice. The anonymous *Veni creator spiritus* (M39) is perhaps also a transitional Mass since it eschews both textural and mensural groundplans. However, as will be demonstrated in chapters 4 and 5, there are serious questions surrounding whether this cycle is even English.

There are several further Masses that are anomalous for either mensural or textural groundplans rather than both. These seem less likely to be transitional Masses. A good example is Frye's *Flos regalis* (M30), which, despite showing some evidence of bi-schematicism, is clearly a later work. Similarly, an alternative explanation for the departure from the prevailing mensural groundplan in a single movement of Cox's *Sine nomine* (M29), Standley's *Ad fugam* Mass (M59) and the anonymous *Sine nomine* attributed to Plummer (M62) should be sought.

3.4 Voices and voice function

A: The four-voice Mass

There are clear differences in voice function between bands I and II. In band I, the vast majority of the repertory is clearly three-voice; only two Masses within this band appear to have four voices. One of these, *Requiem eternam* (M16), follows the two high/ two low configuration favoured in the Old Hall Manuscript,³² and therefore could be argued to be a particularly early band I cycle, like Benet's *Sine nomine* (M44).

It is hard to suggest a date for this Mass since there is no continental copy of it. In support of an earlier dating for the Mass could be the use of C , especially since this is also used in the Benet *Sine nomine* (M44). However, given that *Requiem eternam* uses this only in the tenor, the mensural usage is actually far closer to that of Power's *Alma redemptoris* (M43).

Against an early dating for this Mass is the relatively strictly applied textural scheme that avoids bi-schematicism and the quite probably strictly applied mensural scheme – even if the fragmentary nature of this Mass makes it impossible to be certain of just how strict either was originally. Despite this, the surviving portions of this cycle appear to betray a cycle that conforms rather more strictly to a textural groundplan than one would expect for an early band I cycle. Indeed, the more general style certainly does not seem early.

³² Curtis (1982–3), 36.

Curtis sees *Requiem eternam* as a step toward the development of the high/two-middle/low texture that 'became standard from the 'Caput' Mass onwards'.³³ The Gloria-Credo pair in Tr90 that Curtis notes has a texture of high/middle/two low, with a low tenor,³⁴ does seem supportive of this since it suggests some degree of experimentation with different four-voice textures before the *Caput* Mass texture became the norm.

Curtis' assertion that the high/two-middle/low texture became standard after the *Caput* Mass seems entirely correct. Only one band I Mass (*Salve sancta parens* (M21)) follows the high/two-middle/low texture and this work appears to be extremely anomalous in every other regard. In both Trent copies of *Salve sancta parens*, there are four voices though Bent has suggested that it may have been originally composed for three.³⁵

The Mass is certainly a much more competent composition without the fourth voice, which creates many contrapuntal issues. If the voice is removed, the counterpoint is still entirely complete. Furthermore, in its four-voice form, the disposition of voices is unusual, since the tenor is the lowest voice. This is at odds with post-*Caput* four-voice writing, where the tenor should be the second lowest voice. Contemporary three-voice cycles, by contrast, do usually have the tenor as the lowest voice. As a three-voice work, *Salve sancta parens* has a normal, stratified texture with a middle-voice contratenor that very seldom falls beneath the tenor.

³³ Curtis (1982-3), 36.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ *FCLM*, II, 78.

The inclusion of another middle-voice contratenor performing the same function is unusual and results in a texture somewhere between the 'Old Hall' and 'Caput' configurations.

There are two possible reasons for the above abnormalities and both are consistent with the apparently transitional nature of this Mass. *Salve sancta parens* perhaps originated as a three-voice work, just before the composition of *Caput*, after which a fourth voice was (somewhat inexpertly) added in response to what became a very commonly used texture. Alternatively, this Mass may have been an experimentation with a new texture, before it was given its full articulation in the *Caput* Mass. Given that *Salve sancta parens* appears also to experiment with a new form of structural plan, taken to absolutely extreme levels, the latter option seems more likely. Perhaps this Mass marks a first attempt at both a new texture and a new form of structural plan, elements that would later famously be perfected in the *Caput* Mass and beyond. This is a long journey, but a journey nevertheless, which possibly begins here.

Four-voice Masses following a voice distribution of high/two-middle/low clearly fall into the band II category. The one exception, *Salve sancta parens* (M21), yet again appears to be a transitional Mass applying a set of voice ranges that falls in between 'Old Hall' and 'Caput' configurations. The *Requiem eternam* Mass (M16) may also be considered transitional.

The new four-voice 'Caput texture' does not entirely replace three-voice Mass cycles in band II. Whilst both band I and II therefore contain

three-voice Masses, there are some obvious changes in voice function in the course of the fifteenth century.

B: The three-voice Mass

Kirkman has made some important points regarding changes in voice range and function related to both general chronology and local practice. Following Sylvia Kenney, he notes that the English three-voice texture is generally based on discant techniques, giving a stratified texture with a contratenor that falls between the discantus and tenor.³⁶ This is at odds with continental practice, according to which the contratenor is generally placed below the tenor in the later fifteenth century.³⁷

Kirkman also notes a pan-European move away from the contratenor *altus et bassus* that characterised the first two thirds of the fifteenth century and towards the contratenor *bassus*. He notes that the *contratenor bassus* is used from c.1465, becoming the norm in three-voice works from 1470.³⁸ This point will prove useful in dating apparently later band II Masses.

Kirkman has noted a general pan-European trend toward a more stratified texture later in the century, though English works based on discant practice are fairly stratified anyway. This presents more of a problem for tracing a chronology based on voice function within the

³⁶ Andrew Kirkman, *The Three-voice Mass in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: Style, Distribution and Case Studies* (New York and London: Garland, 1995), 17.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 12–15.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

English repertory than in the continental repertory. Kirkman also notes, however, discussing *Fuit homo missus* (M56), that a particularly wide contratenor that frequently swaps roles with the tenor may be indicative of an earlier date of composition.³⁹

At first glance, there are two distinct contratenor types used within the English repertory – one that keeps a fairly stratified texture between the tenor and the discantus and one that alternates with the tenor, variously being a middle or lower voice – here termed a ‘combination bass’ contratenor. *Fuit homo missus* (M56) is indeed an excellent example of the latter. By comparison, some later Masses, such as *Quem malignus spiritus* (M6), keep a relatively stratified texture. However, there is not a clear chronological distribution of these two types of contratenor. Instead, it seems almost entirely due to the presence of a *cantus firmus* and the nature of the chant in question.

C: The three-voice *Cantus firmus* Mass

For the three-voice *cantus firmus* Mass repertory, the degree to which the contratenor remains above the tenor is almost entirely controlled by *cantus firmus* choice. If the *Fuit homo missus* plainchant is considered (figure 14), the melody begins low in the tessitura, moving between c and g. This then shifts far higher in the tessitura (f-d’) around the syllable ‘mis-’. At the syllable ‘Jo-’, it again explores the lower end of the range

³⁹ Kirkman (1995), 12–14.

before returning to the higher tessitura from the syllable 'hic' until the end.

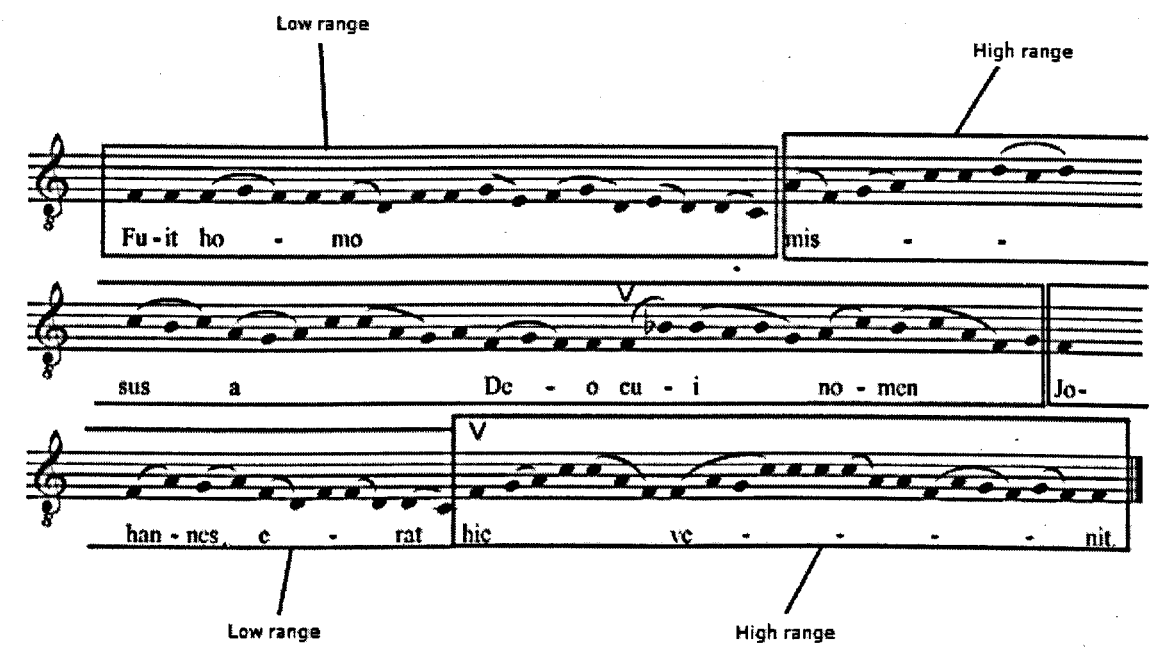


Figure 14 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)

These changes in tessitura correspond well to the sections within which the tenor and contratenor change function. A comparison of figure 15a (bb.33–7 of the Kyrie, corresponding to the end of the melisma on the syllable 'mo-') with 15b (bb. 44–55 of the Kyrie, corresponding to the syllables 'missus a' in the plainchant) demonstrates this. When the tenor explores the higher limits of its range, it generally rests above the contratenor but, when lower in the range, rests below it.



Figure 15a (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)

Figure 15b (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)

A comparison with the *Quem malignus spiritus* chant (figure 16) demonstrates precisely why this cycle has a contratenor that generally rests above the tenor. This particular chant is rather more mobile than *Fuit homo missus*, exploring a wider range more consistently, rather than resting at either extreme of its tessitura for relatively long periods of time. The plainchant does not fully explore the upper reaches of its range until the syllable 'prece' (marked by a box in figure 16). It is around this section only, specifically where the chant reaches its absolute upper range, that the contratenor briefly reaches below the tenor and both

change roles in the polyphonic Mass. A comparison of bb. 157–62 of the Kyrie with bb.163–6 (figure 17) illustrates this.

Quem ma - li - gnus spi - ri - tus
a - de - o te - ne - bat ob - ces - sum quod
ra - bi - em men - tis in - cur - re - bat. Fu - sa pre -
ce Do - mi - no i - psum ex - pel - le - bat.

High range

Figure 16 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)

157
[Discantus]
Contratenor
Tenor
Fuit homo missus a deo in mundum pacem annuntiare in omni creatura.

162
[Discantus]
Contratenor
Tenor
Fuit homo missus a deo in mundum pacem annuntiare in omni creatura.

Figure 17 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)

Unlike the *Fuit homo missus* chant, which generally sticks to each extreme of its range for long periods of time – periods of time that correspond to the tenor alternating roles with the contratenor in the

polyphonic Mass – *Quem malignus* generally keeps low in its range, occasionally extending it by a single tone or semitone. When the chant finally reaches a full articulation of the highest extreme of the chant's range, only here do the contratenor and tenor briefly swap roles in the polyphonic Mass.

It would be erroneous to suggest that composers have no control over the range of a *cantus firmus* tenor. Composers could choose to transpose the plainchant by either a fifth or an octave in order to place the chant in the required range. The desired registral and textural features of the Mass may also have been taken into account when choosing the *cantus firmus* – alongside the obvious liturgical considerations. This seems to be an element of pre-compositional, rather than compositional, choice, however.

D: The three-voice *Sine nomine* Mass

If contratenor function is so constrained by *cantus firmus* choice, then it must be questioned whether the *Sine nomine* repertory is different. One of the Masses noted by Kirkman as being particularly stratified in its texture, with the contratenor above the tenor 90% of the time, is indeed a *Sine nomine* – the 'Two Kyries' Mass (M50). Kirkman notes that this texture is part of a lineage tracing back to English discant.⁴⁰ Precisely the same features are found in Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1), in which the

⁴⁰ Kirkman (1995), 34.

contratenor follows the contour of the tenor as it reaches the very bottom of its range, but almost never overlaps.

Cox's *Sine nomine* Mass from the same source (M29) uses the same texture, as does the *Sine nomine* (M60) that opens Tr89. This is a very common texture for band II *Sine nomine* Mass cycles and much less common for the *cantus firmus* repertory.

Only three band II *Sine nomine* Masses appear to avoid the stratified texture, instead utilising a contratenor that swaps position with the tenor. These cycles are the *Sine nomine* settings by Bedyngham (M15), Standley (M34), and Tik (M35). One of these cycles has been discussed by Kirkman. He notes that Tik's *Sine nomine*, in contrast to some other examples with a c1, c3, c3 clef distribution, has a contratenor that is 'somewhat less *altus*', but still spends more than half of its time above the tenor.⁴¹ He also notes that this cycle has a tendency to give the contratenor 'something of the mellifluous character of the two structural voices'.⁴² This seems an obvious concession towards the more equally conceived voice roles found later in the century. Moreover, whilst often taking the fifth at cadences (as expected), the contratenor of this Mass almost never does so by using the octave-leap cadence. When assuming the fifth requires an octave leap, the contratenor instead takes the role of the tenor.⁴³

⁴¹ Kirkman (1995), 40.

⁴² Ibid., 41.

⁴³ Ibid., 40–1.

The above would seem suggestive of Tik's *Sine nomine* being a relatively advanced Mass cycle. However, in terms of mensural and textural handling, this Mass falls between the norms associated with band I and band II cycles. Furthermore, the Sanctus of this cycle is copied in a relatively early source (Tr90-2 c.1454/5-6). Elements of continental influence, to be discussed in chapter 5, may therefore better explain these apparent anomalies.

Standley's *Sine nomine* has a similar contratenor to Tik's. However, it remains above the tenor more frequently, certainly in the opening movements, though there is a general downwards trajectory throughout the Mass. The contratenor is, however, still melodically interesting, rhythmically active and often involved in imitation of up to three voices whilst avoiding the octave-leap cadence, like Tik's contratenor.

The Bedyngham cycle is also interesting in terms of contratenor function. Here, the contratenor, despite not having a lower clef than the tenor, is most often the lowest voice. Unlike the Standley and Tik cycles, it uses octave leap cadences and the contratenor also never takes the role of the tenor at a cadence. Indeed, the contratenor of this Mass seems to have more of the character of a continental contratenor in the decades leading towards the development of the *contratenor bassus* than it does a *contratenor bassus* itself. This seems to be evidence of continental influence on this particular cycle rather than being suggestive of a later date of composition. Further evidence of continental influence on this cycle will be discussed in chapter 5.

All three cycles that are anomalous in the disposition of their voice ranges are also anomalous in their handling of textural and mensural groundplans. What this might mean for chronology and for the larger question of English and continental interrelationships, will be considered later.

By comparison with the band II *Sine nomine* cycles, the two surviving band I *Sine nomine* Masses perhaps have slightly more overlap between the contratenor and tenor. Both Masses are still fairly stratified and should be classified as having a middle voice contratenor. As there are only two band I *Sine nomine* Masses that survive, it is impossible to draw too many far-reaching conclusions from these.

To conclude, the band I and II *Sine nomine* repertories, until the 1460s, follow a stratified texture in which the contratenor generally remains above the tenor. In comparison, *cantus firmus* Masses generally have a more mobile contratenor that swaps roles with the tenor, becoming the lower voice when the *cantus firmus* reaches the very top of its range. In some works, such as *Fuit homo missus* (M56), this necessitates an extremely mobile contratenor that often swaps roles with the tenor. In other Masses, such as *Quem malignus spiritus* (M6), the plainchant spends less time at the top of its range. On occasions such as this, the contratenor spends much more time above the tenor. However, it will still regularly cross below the tenor during the corresponding sections of plainchant that reach the top of the range. In general, the two contratenor types seem to have little to do with chronological division and

everything to do the presence of a *cantus firmus*. Three cycles appear to be anomalous. Yet again, these cycles are amongst those that were anomalous in their handling of mensural and textural groundplans.

E: The *contratenor bassus* and the three-voice Mass

Even if the use of 'middle-voice' or 'combination bass' contratenors should not be linked to a chronological trend, the use of the *contratenor bassus* in a three-voice texture clearly is so linked. Interestingly, this new texture occurs in both *cantus firmus* and *Sine nomine* Mass cycles. Kirkman has noted that two of the Masses found in the Brussels Choirbook utilise a *contratenor bassus* – Frye's *Summe trinitati* (M28) and *Nobilis et pulcra* (M31).⁴⁴

Whilst the contratenor of both of these Masses has a lower clef than the tenor, there is still considerable overlap between the voices. As with those earlier *cantus firmus* cycles in which the contratenor would reach below the tenor when the *cantus firmus* reached its highest ranges, the tenor now sometimes reaches below the contratenor when the *cantus firmus* is at its lowest. In both cycles, the tenor and contratenor are rhythmically active voices that begin to take on a more equal partnership with the discantus. Interestingly, despite the Plummer *Sine nomine* (M1) also copied in Br5557 having the older texture with a lower tenor, this Mass also has rhythmically active tenor and contratenor parts.

⁴⁴ Kirkman (1995), 17–18.

In the case of the Plummer Mass, all three voices begin to have an imitative role. Even if this cycle does not include a *contratenor bassus*, the general move towards a more equal texture, something that Kirkman sees as a consequence of the *contratenor bassus*, does seem to be present here. This seems suggestive of the Plummer Mass being approximately contemporary with the two Frye cycles with low contratenors.

The final three-voice *cantus firmus* Mass with a *contratenor bassus* is *Veni creator spiritus* (M39). Snow suggests that the tenor and contratenor names are switched in the source, since the middle voice clearly holds the *cantus firmus* and is therefore presumably the tenor.⁴⁵ The vocal lines are significantly more stratified than either of the two Frye cycles discussed above and the contratenor and tenor almost never overlap. This work was first copied c.1462–5, a little before the earliest *contratenor bassus* examples.

The almost note-against-note style of the polyphony may suggest that this work is actually the product of English discant style. Whilst much rarer than placing the *cantus firmus* in the tenor, it was not unheard of to place it in other voices when composing discant.⁴⁶ However, no other contemporary English *cantus firmus* Mass uses this texture.

Perhaps more convincing is the possibility that *Veni creator spiritus* is not English after all. The cycle clearly does not follow normal band II

⁴⁵ Snow (1968), 475.

⁴⁶ Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Discant [descant, descaunt(e), deschant, deschaunt(e), dyscant; verb: discanten] II. English Discant' in *NGD*.

mensural and textural handling and yet the low contratenor rules out the possibility that it could a band I cycle – something that seemed unlikely from source distribution anyway. Indeed, in his comprehensive study of cleffing, Kirkman finds no Mass cycle to have precisely this distribution (c1, c2, c5). He does, however, note that there are four further cycles that utilise the same pattern of intervals between the clefs, using c2, c3, f4. Each of these cycles is continental and dates from at least 1475.⁴⁷

The final band II cycle that appears to include a *contratenor bassus* is the anonymous *Sine nomine* from the Lucca Choirbook (M46).⁴⁸ In this cycle, the contratenor does not have a lower clef than the tenor and could be argued not to utilise a true *contratenor bassus*. However, the contratenor does seem to remain beneath the tenor remarkably strictly. The clef ranges for this Mass (c2, c3, c3) are also unusual and found nowhere else in Kirkman's survey of clef distribution.⁴⁹ Even if this cycle does not utilise a 'true' *contratenor bassus*, it is still clearly a step in this direction. Given the date of copying for Lucca (c.1462–4), this seems suggestive of the Mass cycle having been copied when relatively new. Interestingly, the Lucca Choirbook also includes a three-voice cycle with a

⁴⁷ Kirkman (1995), 309.

⁴⁸ The only unambiguous English cycles with a *contratenor bassus* seem to have been composed by Walter Frye. This, alongside certain peculiarities in the structure of the Kyrie of the *Sine nomine* (M46)(see chapter 4) are sufficient to suggest Walter Frye as the composer of this Mass. There is insufficient space to discuss this here, but the contrapuntal style of this fragmentary cycle further supports this attribution.

⁴⁹ Perhaps the closest is the c2/c3, c3, c4 utilised in 'Filia subtilia' found in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. 40021 – a manuscript dated c.1485–1500. See Kirkman (1995), 301 and 305.

middle-voice contratenor, four-voice works and even two works for five voices.

Conclusions

The evidence presented by voice disposition can offer some useful further insights into chronology. It seems that both *Requiem eternam* (M16) and *Salve sancta parens* (M21) are transitional cycles, given the handling of their four-voice textures. For three-voice cycles, the *Sine nomine* repertory generally follows a stratified texture with a middle-voice contratenor, whilst *cantus firmus* cycles have a more mobile contratenor that swaps roles with the tenor. Around 1465 the *contratenor bassus* developed. This suggests that Frye's *Nobilis et pulcra* (M31) and *Summe trinitati* (M28) and the anonymous Lucca *Sine nomine* (M46) are from at least this date. *Veni creator spiritus* (M39) seems unlikely to be English, mixing apparently early mensural and textural features with a *contratenor bassus* and also using a set of clefs that is absolutely unheard of in other English cycles. Finally, it seems that the Standley and Tik *Sine nomine* cycles (M29 and M34) are again anomalous. They seem to have quite stylistically advanced contratenors but present relatively antiquated mensural and textural features. Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) also is anomalous. The contratenor handling in this cycle, however, seems to relate more to the practices of continental composers than it does to the development of the *contratenor bassus*.

3.5 Towards a new banding for fifteenth-century English

Mass cycles

Band Ia

Benet's *Sine nomine* Mass (M44) may well be the earliest surviving English Mass cycle. It is unique in band I in utilising the mensuration C in the discantus – a clear hangover from earlier practices. The Mass also avoids utilising any form of textural groundplan, has conservative harmonic features such as frequent runs of parallel fifths and, perhaps due to the C mensuration in the discantus, the phrasing is rather shorter than one would expect in band I. The manuscript distribution supports this being a fairly early Mass, since it is the only cycle with some movements copied into Bologna Q15, dated c.1420–5. This cycle will be counted as the first (surviving) cycle in band I, giving a *terminus post quem* of 1420 for continental copying of this band.

There are a great many cycles that appear to have been first copied during the 1430s, including *Rex seculorum* (M3) by Dunstaple or Power, the *Sine nomine* (M4) by Dunstaple, Power or Benet, *Da gaudiorum* (M5), *Jacet granum* (M42) and Power's *Alma redemptoris mater* (M43).

Both *Rex seculorum* (M3) and the Dunstaple/Power/Benet *Sine nomine* (M4) avoid strict mensural planning but have loose bi-schematic textural groundplans, suggesting that these were in use from relatively early in band I. Similarly, Dunstaple's *Da gaudiorum* Mass (M5) may have had a strict mensural groundplan, though this cannot be confirmed.

If this were the case, it would point to a Mass looking towards the style of band II. However, the lack of a textural groundplan is a more firmly band I practice.

Perhaps the fairly strict but non bi-schematic textural groundplan of *Jacet granum* (M42) is suggestive of a shift towards later practices, too. The Mass clearly did not follow a mensural groundplan, though, and the incomplete survival of the work may obscure departures in the movements no longer extant. The quite possibly strict mensural groundplan of Power's *Alma redemptoris* (M43) may, likewise, be seen as a more modern trait. However, the use of C against O simultaneously is more old-fashioned since this technique was not continued into band II. The complete absence of a textural groundplan is an older feature, too.

Whilst *Da gaudiorum*, *Jacet granum* and *Alma redemptoris* do have features that could be argued to be more modern, it cannot be suggested with confidence that they were composed later than the *Rex seculorum* (M3) or *Sine nomine* (M4) Masses noted above. The development of certain features that would become common later in the century may well have taken some time and co-existed with other features and it certainly seems likely that Masses with bi-schematic textural plans and no textural groundplan were written concurrently. Certainly, there is little to differentiate the initial dates of continental copying.

It is worth noting that the Pullois Mass, originally defined as band II but now considered by most to be continental, is copied at the same time as band Ia rather than band II cycles since it is copied into Tr87. In terms

of manuscript distribution, it should more properly be considered a band Ia cycle but perhaps has more in common stylistically with band II cycles. This is, in itself, an argument for continental provenance since this Mass would be by far the earliest band II English Mass to be copied on the continent. Perhaps the newly composed Pullois Mass was being copied alongside older but freshly imported band Ia works.

Band Ib

This chapter has proposed an intermediate band between bands I and II. In doing so, those Masses listed above are redefined as band Ia and the following cycles are defined as band Ib. The first Mass to be proposed as Ib is the four-voice *Requiem eternam* (M16). Curtis has already argued that this is the earliest of the four-voice English cycles.⁵⁰ There are certainly elements of this cycle that are somewhat antiquated, such as the two high/two low scoring so common in the 'Old Hall' repertory. However, so far as it survives, the textural groundplan of this Mass cycle actually appears to be relatively strict and certainly avoids any form of bi-schematicism.

The mensural scheme of this Mass too, may actually be strict, though this is again obscured by the fragmentary nature of the source. These elements, alongside the fact that the sole source of this Mass is an English manuscript dated from c.1450–60 (GB-Ob Add. C87*), may be suggestive of a relatively late date for this Mass. The use of C in

⁵⁰ *FCLM*, IV, ix.

augmentation in the tenor against O in the upper voices and the antiquated voice disposition must suggest that this Mass was composed before band II, however.

Salve sancta parens (M21) seems an even more clearly transitional work. It seems an early attempt at both the strict mensural and textural groundplanning that characterised band II cycles, and the four-voice 'Caput texture'. The application of the mensural and textural groundplan is so strict that each movement is precisely the same length and has absolutely identical *cantus firmus* treatment – something that no band II composers attempt. The layout of voices, whilst nominally following the same disposition of voices as *Caput*, is absolutely unusual, consisting of a low tenor and two middle-voice contratenors. Bent has even questioned whether this may be the work of a 'composer not of the first rank'.⁵¹ Perhaps this somewhat amateur style was caused by the experimental nature of the cycle. Most interestingly, this cycle is first copied at precisely the date that the earliest band II cycles are copied – in Tr93-1 (c.1450–3). Along with the transitional *Fuit homo missus* (M56), this is the band I cycle with the latest date of first copying in a continental source.

Fuit homo missus (M56) is another nominally band I cycle that seems transitional. This cycle is first copied at precisely the same time as *Salve sancta parens* (M21) – some twenty years after the majority of band I cycles reached continental sources. As discussed in the excursus,

⁵¹ *FCLM*, II, 181.

the cycle shares many features of manuscript distribution with the *Caput Mass* (M7) alongside which it is first copied. Most importantly, this cycle is the only one from band I to be copied as late as Tr88 and the only one that Wiser 'completed' – adding the same movements as he did for the *Caput Mass*.

In terms of structure and form *Fuit homo missus* is clearly transitional. Whilst it keeps the 'bi-schematic' textural plan that characterises many band I Masses, it applies it far more strictly than would be expected. Alongside the transitional *Salve sancta parens* (M21), this is also the only band I cycle definitely to apply a strict mensural groundplan.

As well as nominally band I cycles, some anomalous band II cycles seem more appropriately defined as within band Ib. The first of these is Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15). This cycle is first copied into Tr93-1, like the *Salve sancta parens* and *Fuit homo missus*. However, as noted in chapter 2, this cycle was a relatively late addition to the manuscript – copied only after work had already begun on Tr90-1 around 1453.

Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* is one of very few band II cycles that does not apply a strict mensural plan. The handling of textural scheme is also extremely unusual for the band II repertory, apparently linking the two external and three internal movements into two discrete units. This particular form of textural groundplan is also rare in band I, but perhaps closer to 'bi-schematic' practices than band II textural groundplans. In

chapter 5, links between this particular groundplan and continental works will also be discussed.

The disposition of vocal ranges in Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) is very anomalous and possibly indicative of a relatively late date for this cycle, in contradistinction to the evidence of the mensural and textural groundplans. However, it seems more likely to be the evidence of continental influence, since it seems remarkably similar to the handling of lower yet equally cleffed contratenors by continental composers before c.1465. For now, this will be counted as a band Ib cycle, but the possibility of continental influence will be further discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

The final cycle to be proposed as band Ib is Tik's *Sine nomine* (M35). This cycle, like Bedyngham's *Sine nomine*, departs from the mensural scheme in a single movement and has a clear bi-schematic textural groundplan, in the manner of many band I cycles. In terms of manuscript distribution, this cycle is first copied in Tr90-2 (1454/5-6) – giving it a slightly later date of initial copying than those other Masses defined as band Ib.

The disposition of voices in Tik's *Sine nomine* seems indicative of a more stylistically advanced contratenor, a feature completely at odds with the apparently early mensural and textural handling. Perhaps, as with the Bedyngham *Sine nomine*, this may suggest continental influence – though the character of the contratenor in this Mass does seem less like that of a continental contratenor. For now, this cycle will be counted as band Ib,

but the possibility of continental influence will be further discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

There are several other band II cycles with some anomalous features. Perhaps the most obvious is *Veni creator spiritus* (M39). This cycle is extremely unusual with regard to the application of its mensural groundplan – more so even than the Bedyngham and Tik *Sine nomine* Masses. Moreover, it completely eschews textural groundplanning. However, the disposition of voice ranges must surely rule out a date earlier than c.1465 since it has a *contratenor bassus* that is cleffed lower than the tenor.

There seem to be two possibilities. The first is that this cycle is a rare surviving example of a band Ib cycle, heavily influenced by discant style, despite its use of a *cantus firmus* and, most unusually, with this being placed in the middle of the texture. Alternatively, this Mass cycle may very well not be English and be from c.1465. Chapters 4 and 5 will shed further light on this issue. For now, this cycle will not be included as band Ib since it seems very doubtful that it is English.

Further Masses worthy of investigation include Standley's *Sine nomine* and *Ad fugam* cycles (M34 and M59), Cox's *Sine nomine* (M29) and the anonymous *Sine nomine* attributed to Plummer (M62). The first dates of copying for each of these Masses seem to argue against almost all of them being transitional Masses, with only Standley's *Ad fugam* Mass (M59) being found at a relatively early date (1456–60/2).

If, as has been suggested, Cox's *Sine nomine* (M29) might have been composed for the Marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York (see chapter 1), then this Mass, rather than being transitional, may instead make use of some slightly conservative features. The survival of a motet that may be the vestigial Kyrie of Frye's *Summe trinitati* (M28) in an earlier source could suggest that some or all of the music in the nucleus of the Brussels Choirbook was not composed specifically for this manuscript but collected for it instead.⁵² It is possible that Cox's *Sine nomine* is older than the date suggested, therefore. For now, it seems more likely to be a band II work due to the absence of an earlier source and its otherwise relatively balanced stylistic elements.

Standley's *Sine nomine*, despite the avoidance of a textural groundplan and the departure from a mensural scheme in one movement, has a quite stylistically advanced contratenor that is similar to that of the Tik *Sine nomine* (M35). This may be indicative of continental influence, rather than later composition – though it seems more likely to be a more stylistically advanced contratenor. The balance of probability again seems to favour a later Mass using some older features or, since both of Standley's cycles appear similarly anomalous, this may also be suggestive of this being an idiosyncratic feature of his style.

⁵² As will be demonstrated in chapter 4, the motet attached to *Summe trinitati* is the only motet in all the extant 'Mass-motet' cycles that could have plausibly once been a prosula Kyrie. However, it is impossible to demonstrate for certain that it is a *contrafactum*.

Finally, the Plummer *Sine nomine*, despite departing from its mensural scheme, does follow a textural groundplan. Its disposition for three equal voices is very unusual but not overly helpful in suggesting a date for this cycle. Again, given the general lack of additional evidence for an earlier date and the survival of this work in a relatively late source, it is kept as band II.

Band II

It is generally accepted that the *Caput* and *Quem malignus spiritus* Masses are two of the earliest band II cycles. In terms of manuscript distribution alone, this seems logical. The chronology of band II cycles described here rests largely upon manuscript distribution; it can be assumed that cycles here are arranged by date of first copying unless otherwise stated.

The Brussels Choirbook is a good example a collection of works apparently not copied in chronological order. The *Sine nomine* attributed to Frye (M32) is copied on paper dating from later than the other five cycles in this manuscript but gives every indication of being older than them. Its use of the low tenor is clearly reminiscent of the earlier distribution of vocal parts and it is therefore proposed that it is slightly older than the date of copying would suggest – probably closer to the start of the 1460s at the latest.

Both *Nobilis et pulcra* and *Summe trinitati*, which are found in the same manuscript, on paper of an earlier date, utilise low contratenors

that approach the *contratenor bassus*. The Plummer and Cox *Sine nomine* Masses (M1 and M29) in the same source both have more middle-voice contratenors, though in both cases these appear to be more equal partners in the counterpoint. These may, therefore, be only slightly older than the Frye Masses.

If some of the cycles in the Brussels Choirbook were indeed written specifically for the Anglo-Burgundian wedding (1468), then this would suggest a period of much less than ten years between composition and continental copying. Alternatively, if some cycles were composed previously and later copied into this manuscript, it could suggest a repertory covering a fairly large period.

Both Standley cycles have somewhat anomalous features that could be indicative of an earlier date of composition. The *Ad fugam* cycle appears in Tr88, however, and has a relatively early date of copying as it is (c.1456–60/2). The *Sine nomine*, however, has one of the latest dates of first copying (c.1464–8). A date closer to the *Ad fugam* Mass seems to be more appropriate, especially since many cycles do appear to be fairly old once they reach the Strahov Codex.

With the exception of those Masses mentioned above, a chronology based generally on initial dates of copying into continental sources seems appropriate.

Band III

There are no surviving band III cycles in continental sources. Since the band III cycles are all later than the general focus of this thesis, they will not be discussed. The only point that shall be made is to suggest that Petyr's *Sine nomine* (M11), found in layer five of the Ritson Manuscript, should more properly be band III than band II. Sandon notes that in 1516 Petyr stated that he had been studying music for 30 years, suggesting that the piece could not be any older than the late 1480's, a fact which Lane and Sandon say is supported by the musical idiom.⁵³

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter proposes a new banding system that takes into account some apparently transitional cycles, all of which were first copied on the continent precisely during the time of overlap between band I and band II. Further to the creation of this overlapping band (designated Ib) I have given a new, more concrete definition of those bands already extant – demonstrating for each (where appropriate) an approximate range of dates of composition, dates of continental copying and stylistic trends.

This definition stands as follows:

Ia:- Band Ia cycles were composed c.1410–30 and copied into the continental sources between c.1420 and c.1455. They are characterised by a tendency to depart from mensural groundplans and either to avoid textural groundplans or to utilise loose bi-schematic ones. All surviving examples are three-voice works. Those that use a *cantus firmus* have a contratenor that is generally a middle-voice and yet that ranges below the tenor when the

⁵³ *The Ritson Manuscript*, Eleanor Lane and Nick Sandon with Christine Bayliss (eds.) (Moretonhampstead: Antico, 2001), vi.

plainchant is at the height of its range. Those that are *Sine nomine* have a more stratified texture, following the influence of discant.

Ib:- Band Ib cycles seem to have been composed in the 1430s and copied into continental sources between c.1430 and c.1470, with the majority copied only as late as the 1450s. They have mensural and textural features of both band Ia and band II simultaneously. This band contains cycles with both three and four voices. Those with four voices are yet to develop the 'Caput texture' of high/two middle/low voice disposition. Those for three voices often appear to have surprisingly advanced contratenor parts.

II:- Band II cycles were composed between c.1440 and c.1465 and generally copied into continental sources from c.1450–75, after which they appear to have become unfashionable. They are characterised by strict adherence to mensural groundplans and relatively strict adherence to textural groundplans. These cycles can be for three, four or even five voices. Three-voice *cantus firmus* works, copied before c.1465, tend to utilise a contratenor that ranges both above and below the tenor but generally rests above it and has the same clef. Those copied after c.1465 have increasingly low contratenors that remain below the tenor and have a lower clef. Three-voice *Sine nomine* cycles still generally have a more stratified texture with the contratenor, before c.1465, being the middle voice in the texture. After c.1465, *Sine nomine* Masses with a *contratenor bassus* were composed too. Four-voice band II cycles generally follow the 'Caput' texture of high/two middle/low.

III:- Band III cycles were composed in the last third of the fifteenth century and are not preserved in any surviving continental sources.

Some Mass cycles also appear to have been wrongly categorised in their earlier banding. The following table outlines how each surviving English cycle fits within the new banding system. Mass cycles marked with diagonal lines are of debatable provenance.

Ref. No.	Title/Cantus firmus	Composer	Band
M3	<i>Rex seculorum</i>	Dunstaple/Power	Ia
M4	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Dunstaple/Power/Benet	Ia
M5	<i>Da gaudiorum</i>	Dunstaple	Ia
M33	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Pulloy	Ia
M42	<i>Jacet granum</i>	Anon.	Ia

M43	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	Power	Ia
M44	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Benet	Ia
M53	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	Anon.	Ia
M15	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Bedyngnam	Ib
M16	<i>Requiem eternam</i>	Anon.	Ib
M21	<i>Salve sancta parens</i>	Anon.	Ib
M35	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tik	Ib
M56	<i>Fuit homo missus</i>	Anon.	Ib
M1	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Plummer	II
M2	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	II
M6	<i>Quem malignus spiritus</i>	Anon.	II
M7	<i>Caput</i>	Anon.	II
M12	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	Anon.	II
M13	<i>Nesciens mater</i>	Plummer	II
M19	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	II
M20	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Dunster	II
M23	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	II
M28	<i>Summe trinitati</i>	Frye	II
M29	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Cox	II
M30	<i>Flos regalis</i>	Frye	II
M31	<i>Nobilis et pulcra</i>	Frye	II
M32	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Frye	II
M34	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Standley	II
M36	<i>Meditatio cordis</i>	Anon.	II
M37	<i>Hilf und gib rat</i>	Philippi	II
M38	<i>Rozel im gart'n</i>	Anon.	II
M39	<i>Veni creator spiritus</i>	Anon.	II
M40	<i>Veterem hominem</i>	Anon.	II
M41	<i>O rosa bella</i>	Anon.	II
M45	<i>So ys emprentid</i>	Frye	II
M46	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	II
M47	<i>Te gloriosus</i>	Anon.	II
M48	<i>Sancta maria virgo</i>	Anon.	II
M49	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	II
M50	<i>Sine nomine 'Two Kyries'</i>	Anon.	II
M51	<i>So ys emprentid</i>	Le Rouge	II
M52	<i>Thomas cesus</i>	Anon.	II
M54	<i>Dueil angoisseux</i>	Bedyngnam	II
M55	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	II
M57	<i>Puisque m'amour</i>	Anon.	II
M58	<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	Simon de Insula	II
M59	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Standley	II
M60	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	II
M61	<i>Te deum</i>	Anon.	II
M62	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	II

M63	<i>Christus surrexit</i>	Anon.	II
M64	<i>O quam suavis</i>	Anon.	II
M65	<i>Paratur nobis</i>	Anon.	II
M66	<i>Rex dabit mercedem</i>	Anon.	II
M8	<i>Rex summe</i>	Packe	III
M9	<i>Gaudete</i>	Packe	III
M10	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	III
M11	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Petyr	III
M17	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	III
M18	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	III
M22	<i>Venit dilectus meus</i>	Cook	III
M24	<i>Dame sans pere</i>	Ludford	III
M25	<i>The false my...</i>	Anon.	III
M26	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	III
M27	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.	III

Chapter 4

Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Cycles and their Continental Contemporaries – A Focus on Kyries

To examine Kyries in detail is a very natural choice of subject for a study of English fifteenth-century Masses, given the special character of prosula Kyries found in works composed for important feasts. Chapter 4 has essentially two aims: firstly, to determine the most useful continental comparands for the newly redefined English bands Ib and II; and secondly, to explore the ways in which the compositional features found in the Kyries of the two repertory groups differ. In addressing the first aim, the discrepancy between dates of composition and dates of copying must first be considered (4.1), before discussing the criteria for selecting continental comparands (4.2). Having selected the comparands, the Kyries of English Mass cycles will then be analysed, focussing primarily on the position of the mensural changes (4.3); then on the internal structural ratios (4.4); and on the size in relation to the rest of the cycle (4.5). A direct comparison between the English cycles and the continental comparands can then be made, noting any Masses that appear to conform better to features of the other repertory (4.6). Finally, the question of the Mass-motet cycle and *contrafact* Kyries can be addressed (4.7). The comparands selected for this analysis will also be used in chapter 5. The analyses in these two chapters focus purely on the structural and textual elements of the Masses in question, rather than on contrapuntal and stylistic features.

4.1: Dates of composition and dates of copying

In attempting to compare English and continental works the disparity between dates of composition and dates of copying must be taken into account. In most cases, it is hard to suggest even approximate dates of composition. Unless there is documentary evidence (such as a record of payment or performance), or internal evidence of a link between the composition and a specific dated event, possible dates of composition must be extrapolated from other information.¹ Given that many English Mass cycles survive only as continental copies demonstrably remote from their no-longer-extant originals, it is even harder to suggest a composition date. On the other hand, current knowledge of the dates of copying of manuscripts and manuscript layers, is more reliable and complete.

As well as being significantly more difficult to achieve, a comparison of English and continental music *composed* at the same time is perhaps less useful than a comparison of works *copied* at the same time. Even if a sufficient number of Masses to enable a useful and meaningful comparison were accurately dated, it would be difficult to judge if and how these works might have interacted. This is compounded by the possibility, noted in chapter 3, that English works may well have taken ten years or more to reach the continent. In such matters of comparative chronology, precision is largely illusory – contemporaneity is a question of

¹ For example, the nucleus of the Brussels Choirbook has been linked to the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York. The issue of whether the pieces were pre-existent and copied due to their apparent suitability, or composed specifically for the occasion is an important consideration for any evidence such as this.

an extended present, rather than an exact instant of time and the cultural moment of a musical repertory is an extended moment.

By choosing to focus on dates of copying for a comparison, particular manuscript sources can be seen as a frozen moment in time, showing works that were accessible to a particular scribe at a particular moment and that he chose to copy into the same manuscript. This should give a clearer view of how English Masses could have influenced continental composers, showing which Masses were available in one place at a particular historical moment. When combined with wider knowledge of the interaction between composers, manuscripts and institutions (see chapters 1 and 2), this can lead to a potentially more in-depth understanding of the influence of particular English works on continental compositions.

4.2: The selection of comparands

As outlined in chapter 2, the current structure of any given manuscript is not necessarily indicative of its original structure. The different phases in each relevant manuscript's creation have been listed in chapter 2. For the purposes of selecting comparands, only those continental Masses in manuscript layers including English Mass cycles, which thus have a demonstrably close relationship to them, will be selected as comparands. A table outlining the banding of each of the English cycles which appear within the different sections of each continental manuscript can be found in appendix 1.1.

It has already been discussed in chapter 2 which of these manuscripts appear to be the most relevant to the present study. In effect, the earliest manuscripts have been discounted, those written before the first band II Masses reached the continent, and also those manuscripts that seem to be only tangentially connected to the dissemination of the English Mass cycle tradition. The manuscripts in this latter category are those that include no more than one movement of an (often fragmentary) English Mass cycle, preserved long after the work was stylistically relevant.

In chapter 2, a more complex and nuanced view of manuscript distribution based on the concept of manuscript layers was outlined. Appendix 1.3 entabulates each of the relevant manuscript layers, discounting those that are too early or not relevant, and outlines which movements of the Mass cycles in question appear in each. The sources are presented across the top of the table in approximate chronological order. Band Ia, Ib and II Masses are respectively represented by coloured grey boxes, by boxes with diagonal lines and by clear boxes.

By considering which continental Mass cycles these band II English Masses were copied alongside and by analysing particular traits within the English and continental repertoires, compositional styles can be further differentiated and the degree of influence that English music may have had can be traced. To this end, the most appropriate continental comparands will be selected from each of the manuscripts outlined in appendix 1.3. The three manuscripts containing only single English Mass

cycles, for the reasons outlined above, will be discounted for the purpose of determining comparands.

Trent 93-1, 93-2, 90-1, 90-2, 88, 89-1 and 89-2

In chapter 2, the different layers of compilation of the relevant Trent codices were outlined. These are entabulated in appendix 1.2, showing which English works can be found in each layer. In general, each of the different layers contains English and continental Masses together and therefore has many useful continental comparands. Only Tr89-2 appears not to include any English Masses. Despite this, it still seems sensible to include those continental Masses found in Tr89-2 since Wiser was still active as a scribe for this second section. Not only did he copy gathering 35, but he also added the text to the music copied by scribe B in gathering 21. This second phase of copying appears very like the resumption after a pause in the copying process. The relevant Masses from these manuscripts, as well as those discussed below, are listed in Table 1 on page 165.²

The Lucca Choirbook

The Lucca Choirbook was copied in two distinct stages, one of which took place in Bruges and the other in Italy. There are continental works throughout both stages of the manuscript.

² Sometimes only part of a Mass cycle is found in the source being considered. In these circumstances the whole Mass will be used as a comparand, if found complete in other manuscripts.

As was demonstrated in chapter 2, the two latest additions to the manuscript (those by scribe C) are not contemporary with the English works, and so will not be considered as comparands.³ The work of scribe B, however, bears a closer relationship to the nucleus of the manuscript. The single addition that this scribe made is related to Bruges, like many of the Masses copied by scribe A. Scribe B also made specific additions to *Hec dies*, copied by scribe A, suggesting that works attributable to scribe A were still in use when scribe B began copying.⁴ Table 1 (page 165) gives the relevant cycles from this manuscript.

The Brussels Choirbook

The majority of the Brussels Choirbook appears to have been produced as several separate layers after the initial nucleus. The manuscript does, however, show many signs of use, suggesting frequent use in performance after binding as Br5557.⁵ The presence of an anonymous English Mass in the same fascicle as a Mass by Cornelius Heyns suggests a keen interest in English works, over and above the circumstances surrounding the initial nucleus.

Wegman has suggested that every gathering other than gatherings 7 and 8 was copied by a workshop in Bruges. One of the scribes from this workshop also copied a Mass by the Bruges composer Cornelius Heyns.⁶

³ *FCLM*, VI, 26 and discussed in chapter 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* and discussed in chapter 2.

⁵ Since successive rebindings would require the manuscript to be ploughed, any of the wear at the edges of the manuscript has to have occurred *after* binding into Br5557.

⁶ Wegman (1986), 15.

This suggests that the manuscript existed as a performance manuscript taking into account changes in the local repertoire. The only Mass cycle outside of this context is Ockeghem's *Quinti toni*, which Wegman suggests was copied c.1476–80 in Northern France.⁷ Given its apparent distance from the contents of the rest of the manuscript, this cycle will not be included in the list of comparands (see Table 1 on page 165).

The Strahov Codex

The Strahov Codex consists of several independent sections later bound together to form the final manuscript. Scribe 2 compiled the pre-existent sections copied by scribes 1, 4 and 5 and also added new works in the gaps. The four layers of copying outlined in chapter 2 all contain English Masses, and three of these contain relevant continental comparands. Whilst there appear to be two gatherings (copied by scribes 4 and 5) that originally contained only a single Mass of possible English provenance, the majority of the manuscript presents continental Mass cycles alongside English ones. These cycles are all included within Table 1 (page 165).

While some parts of this manuscript may have had an earlier independent transmission, it still seems feasible to consider the complete manuscript as it now exists when looking for comparands since the compiler of the manuscript gave it a highly organised structure, adding liturgically relevant works on blank folios.

⁷ Wegman (1986), 16.

San Pietro B80

Whilst three distinct layers of Mass cycles can be clearly identified in San Pietro B80, as well as the dates of copying of its two earlier exemplars, it still seems valid to count the whole manuscript in its final form when looking for comparands (see Table 1 on page 165), since the entire manuscript was copied in a relatively short period by a single scribe with many of the Masses showing signs of practical use.⁸ The detail with which the two earlier exemplar manuscripts can be traced, however, will be useful in determining the dissemination of English works on the continent. Further to this, the possibility of more specific links between this manuscript and England will be discussed later.

Conclusions

Table 1 (page 165) gives a summary of each selected continental comparand. These cycles are taken from the layers of continental manuscripts that also include English cycles, as outlined above. Those Masses that appear in more than one manuscript are only counted once.

Not all of the cycles found within relevant manuscript sections necessarily make the most useful comparands, and the selection can usefully be further refined. The two Du Fay plenary Masses in Tr93 and the Piret plenary Mass in Tr89 will not be included, owing to the lack of

⁸ For example, the instruction '*Volue Arcangelo*' found on f.71, quite possibly referring to Archangelo Blasio, a soprano at San Pietro from 1473–5. See Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St Peter's, 1380–1513*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 96.

English plenary Masses with which to compare them.⁹ The *Tube* Mass by Cousin from Tr90 will also be omitted on account of its stylistic anomalies, since it is based entirely on imitations of trumpet calls. Further, it is for present purposes not feasible to edit the unedited Masses within this list. The comparands have been given new reference numbers to enable easier reference, especially when referring to anonymous *Sine nomine* Masses.

⁹ Perhaps, as noted in the introduction, the liturgical particularisation allowed by the cyclic *cantus firmus* Mass Ordinary meant that there was less of a need for plenary Masses in England.

Source	No.	Listing	Mass	Composer
Br5557	7	CM1	<i>Ecce ancilla domini</i>	Du Fay
Br5557	19	CM2	<i>Pour quelque paine</i>	Cornelius Heyns
Br5557	20	CM3	<i>Ave regina</i>	Du Fay
Br5557	23	CM4	<i>Ecce ancilla domini/ Ne timeas maria</i>	Johannes Regis
Lucca	2	CM5	<i>Spiritus almus</i>	Petrus de Domarto
Lucca	6	CM6	<i>Quinti toni irregularis</i>	Petrus de Domarto
Lucca	12	CM7	<i>L'homme armé</i>	Du Fay
Strahov	75-8, 81	CM8	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tourout
Strahov	94-5	CM9	<i>Ayo visto lo mappa mundi</i>	Johannes Cornago
Strahov	104-5, 107-9.	CM10	<i>Wünslichen schön</i>	Anon.
SP B.80	2	CM11	<i>Au chant de lalouete</i>	
SP B.80	17	CM12	<i>Terribliment</i>	Barbingant
SP B.80	18	CM13	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
SP B.80	19	CM14	<i>L'homme armé</i>	Caron
SP B.80	20	CM15	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
SP B.80	21	CM16	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
SP B.80	22	CM17	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
SP B.80	24	CM18	<i>Pour l'amour dune</i>	Anon.
Tr93	1741	CM19	<i>Sine nomine (Resvellés vous)</i>	Du Fay
Tr88	25	CM20	<i>Se tu t'en marias</i>	Anon.
Tr88	29	CM21	<i>Se la face ay pale</i>	Anon.
Tr88	95	CM22	<i>Le serviteur</i>	Anon.
Tr88	98	CM23	<i>Caput</i>	Ockeghem
Tr88	138	CM24	<i>Grüne linden</i>	Anon.
Tr88	142	CM25	<i>Esclave puist il devenir</i>	Anon.

Source	No.	Listing	Mass	Composer
Tr88	145	CM26	<i>Le serviteur</i>	Faugues
Tr89	523-7	CM27	<i>Gross sehnen</i>	Anon.
Tr89	531-5	CM28	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tourout
Tr89	606-10	CM29	<i>Le serviteur</i>	Anon.
Tr89	682-6	CM30	<i>Monyel</i>	Tourout
Tr89	687-91	CM31	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
Tr89	692-6	CM32	<i>Du cuer je souspier</i>	Anon.
Tr89	698-702	CM33	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Bassere
Tr89	711-14	CM34	<i>Quant che vendra</i>	Anon.
Tr89	715-19	CM35	<i>O rosa bella</i>	Anon.
Tr89	746-50	CM36	<i>Clemens et benigna</i>	Caron
Tr89	763-6	CM37	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.

Table 1

4.3–5: The Kyries of English Mass cycles

After a list of appropriate comparands have been chosen, the comparison will proceed by focussing on the Kyrie movements.¹⁰ For many years, it was believed that fifteenth-century English composers never set the Kyrie polyphonically, instead choosing to use only plainchant.¹¹ As has been clear for many years now, this is far from being the case. Rather, the English liturgy permitted the addition of prosula texts,¹² additional inserted texts added to the Kyrie that comment upon it in various ways. These prosulae were added on liturgical feasts of high rank¹³ and, importantly in the present context, greatly added to the length of a Kyrie. Whilst continental Kyries are often the shortest movement of a Mass cycle, those English Kyries which carry prosula texts may often be one of the longest movements.

In general, composers following the Roman rite did not set prosula Kyries. Whilst there are notable occurrences of continental prosula Kyries, such as the Naples *L'homme armé* Masses and Tinctoris's *L'homme armé*, these are very much the exception rather than the rule.¹⁴ Indeed, it seems likely that continental scribes, when faced with copying liturgically

¹⁰ Some English cycles are not included in this comparison if they are too fragmentary, currently un-edited or not copied into continental sources.

¹¹ See, for example, Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Caput Redivivum": A New Source for Dufay's "Missa Caput", *JAMS*, 4 (1951), 104.

¹² For the purposes of this discussion, added texts will be referred to as prosulae. The same phenomenon is often described as troping, but this more properly refers to the addition of either a melisma or music and text together. Another appropriate manner of discussing these Kyries is as 'Latin-texted Kyries'. Given that many of them still contain Greek elements, the term prosula is favoured here to avoid confusion.

¹³ Hamm (1968), 57.

¹⁴ The Kyrie of Arnold de Lantins' *Verbum incarnatum* mass, from before the main period under consideration in this thesis, also has a prosula text. Crucially, this does not follow the structures that will be described below for English prosula Kyries.

alien and overly long English prosula Kyries, often resorted to a variety of different expedients, or techniques of scribal emendation. The most drastic and perhaps most common of these was to omit the Kyrie entirely.¹⁵ Other patterns of scribal emendation, such as cutting the movement into two alternative Kyries,¹⁶ retexting the Kyrie as a motet,¹⁷ or removing the prosula text whilst retaining the music¹⁸ are also found.

An over-simplistic view of Kyrie composition should not be taken. The reality is not simply reducible to long English Kyries and shorter continental ones. The practice of scribal emendation can obviously overlay and thus obscure original practices. On top of this, it must be understood that by no means all English Kyries contain prosula texts. Only feasts of a certain rank would permit the prosula Kyrie and many Masses remain without these additional texts. The practical upshot of this is that English Mass cycles may contain a short, non-prosula Kyrie or else, in other cases, a much longer and more elaborate prosula Kyrie.

By focussing on the key trends in the positioning of the mensural changes **(4.3)**, internal structural ratios **(4.4)**, and the length in relation

¹⁵ See Frye's *Flos regalis* Mass (M30). For a discussion of this phenomenon, see Curtis (1981), 52, or Hamm (1968), 57.

¹⁶ See the anonymous *Sine nomine* Mass (M50). The Mass is most completely discussed in Kirkman (1994), 180–99.

¹⁷ See Frye's *Summe trinitati* Mass (M28). The suggestion that the motet belonging to this Mass was originally a prosula Kyrie is made in *FCLM*, III, 188–9. For related questions pertaining to the status of other motets apparently related to Mass cycles, see Robert Snow, 'The Mass-Motet Cycle: a Mid-Fifteenth-Century Experiment', *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac*, Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (eds.) (Pittsburgh, 1969), 301–20 and Reinhard Strohm, 'The Mass-Motet Cycle in the Mid-Fifteenth Century and Related Questions of Chronology', paper read at the Nineteenth Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, (Oxford, July 1991).

¹⁸ See the anonymous *Sine nomine* Mass (M49), found in both CS 14 and Lucca without prosula text, but corresponding better to the structure of a prosula Kyrie. For more on this, see the discussion below.

to the rest of the cycle **(4.5)**, it can perhaps better be determined whether apparently continental Kyries may have held a prosula text that has been removed scribally. Such an investigation will also help with the potential restoration of Masses which have undergone scribal emendation. Further, whether those few known continental prosula Kyries are approached differently can be investigated. .

4.3: Mensural changes in the Kyrie of English Mass cycles

The discussion will begin by tracing the separate trends found within the prosula and non-prosula English Kyries, before comparing them with the continental comparands. A comparison of the position of the mensural changes within these Kyries demonstrates general practice and also points up anomalous works. For some Kyries, these findings answer questions about original structure, whilst in others they force deeper questions about the work, its nature and transmission to be considered.

The position of the first mensural change

If the position of the initial mensural change for both prosula (appendix 6.1) and non-prosula Kyries (appendix 6.2) are considered separately, some clear trends can be observed, displayed in a summary table (Table 2) within the main text.

Prosula Kyries¹⁹	
Position of initial mensural change	Number of Masses
After 3	3
After 3 or 6	1
After 4	2
After 5	5
After 6 or 5	1
Non-prosula Kyries	
Position of initial mensural change	Number of Masses
After 3	10
After 5	2
No mensural change	2

Table 2

For the non-prosula repertoire, all but four have the first mensural change occurring after the third invocation. The prosula repertoire, by contrast, has the majority of initial mensural changes occurring after the fifth invocation (this is, however, by a smaller margin). This supports Strohm’s argument that the majority of English prosula Kyries exhibit a division of either 5+4 or 6+3 invocations.²⁰ The former division seems to be much more common than the latter within band II Masses. The initial division

¹⁹ For the purpose of this comparison, some simplifications have to be made. It is often ambiguous as to how many repetitions of each invocation are required. Whilst most Kyries have three clear sections corresponding to Kyrie-Christe-Kyrie, not all have sufficient music to repeat each of these three times. This is supported by some continental prosula Kyries having been written for fewer than nine invocations, as will be shown later. Other Kyries have more music than would be required for nine invocations. In practice, modern performances often give more than three invocations per section. Whilst this is not necessarily indicative of original performance practice, this cannot be ruled out. Further, not all prosula Kyries use the text Kyrie and Christe in each (or even any) invocation as some are clearly Trinitarian. These Kyries separately address God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Accordingly, a mensural change occurring before the second section of text, whether or not this is texted as a Christe and regardless of whether a full three invocations can be performed, counts as after the third invocation. Likewise, one that occurs before what would be the second Kyrie section in a non-Trinitarian Mass, is counted as after the sixth invocation. In Kyries with easily numberable prosula invocations, it is much easier to judge at what point the mensural change occurs.

²⁰ *FCLM*, VI, 98.

occurs after the sixth invocation in a third of all band I prosula Kyries (two out of a total of six), however, so this should still be considered a normal (if perhaps old-fashioned) positioning for the initial change.

Some Kyries do not conform to these practices. In the non-prosula repertory, the anonymous *Sine nomine* found in Lucca and CS 14 (M49), has the first mensural change occurring after the fifth invocation. Similarly, the 'Two Kyries' Mass (M50) appears to have two alternative surviving Kyries. Kirkman has shown that these were once a single prosula Kyrie, which was divided into two separate Kyries by a continental scribe.²¹ It has been argued that the initial mensural change was originally found after the fifth invocation and it is included as occurring at this point in the above table. There are two further anomalous Masses (the anonymous *Sine nomine* in the Brussels choirbook attributed to Frye (M32) and Frye's *So ys emprentid* (M45)) which, whilst having the mensural changes occurring at the usual points, also have two clearly demarcated Christe sections.

For the prosula repertory, too, there are examples of anomalous Masses. Three of these have the first mensural change following the third invocation, the usual position in a non-prosula Kyrie (Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1),²² *Salve sancta parens* (M21),²³ and *Veni creator spiritus*

²¹ Kirkman (1994), 180–99.

²² Curtis (see *FCLM*, III, xv) has already noted the apparently anomalous nature of the texting of the Kyrie of this cycle. He suggests, as will be suggested here, that this cycle has a genuinely curtailed prosula text. He further notes *Salve sancta parens* and Plummer's *Nesciens mater* as other examples that may share the same features. Strohm challenges this view (see Strohm (1985), 125) but the evidence presented here will confirm the existence of the curtailed prosula Kyrie.

(M39)), and one has the mensural change after arguably the third or sixth (the anonymous *Sine nomine* that opens Tr89 (M60)). Finally, two Kyries appear to have the initial mensural change following the fourth invocation: Frye's *Nobilis et pulcra* (M31) and the anonymous *Sine nomine* Mass in Lucca (M46). The relationship between these two Masses is very important and, quite plausibly, gives an indication of the possible composer of the anonymous Mass.²⁴ This is not within the scope of the present discussion, however.

For now, two points will be argued: (1) that some of the anomalous Masses shown above have been the subject of scribal emendation; and (2) that four of the anomalous Masses cannot simply be retexted as either prosula or non-prosula Kyries. These Masses belong to a category of their own, one that has a prosula text which omits particular invocations – a shortened or curtailed prosula Kyrie, therefore.

Non-prosula Kyries – anomalies

The first of the apparently anomalous Masses which shall be discussed is the *Sine nomine* (M49), found in the Lucca Choirbook and CS 14. The apparently unusual mensural layout of this Kyrie is not the only non-standard element. It appears that the current text underlay is corrupted

²³ Bent notes the lack of three invocations for the Kyrie of this cycle and suggests that curtailment should be considered for all English Kyries too short to fit full text (see *FCLM*, II, 181). This argument is supported here. Bent further notes that there are no examples of telescoping in Kyries, but as will be shown in this chapter, there seems now to be one surviving example.

²⁴ As noted in chapter three, this cycle is the only solidly English cycle in band II not ascribed to Frye to utilise a *contratenor bassus* clearly. The evidence of voice disposition and the unusual structure of the Kyrie seem to point towards him as the composer of this cycle too.

to the point of being unusable and cannot have been the original. The first five invocations are marked 'Kyrie', invocations six and seven 'Christe' and eight and nine 'Kyrie'. There are also two clearly anomalous indications of Christe in bb. 113 and 115.²⁵ Evidently, the source for this Mass presents not only an incorrect number of each invocation, but furthermore does so in an incorrect arrangement and order. It seems overwhelmingly likely that the current underlay is erroneous. Indeed, if the original Kyrie were prosula, then the first mensural change occurring on the fifth invocation would, rather than being unique, actually be the norm.

Frye's *So ys emprentid* Mass (M45) is also anomalous. Unusually, the Kyrie consists of four sections: Kyrie I – Christe I – Christe II – Kyrie II. Further to this, the numbers $\frac{1}{2}$, 3 and 3 are written at the end of Christe I, Christe II and Kyrie II respectively. Strohm has demonstrated that these are not proportional signs and have nothing to do with mensuration. He has suggested two possible ways in which the Kyrie might be structured.²⁶ The first of these, which he believes the more likely, is an *alternatim* structure, beginning with plainchant. This perfectly explains the structure of the Kyrie, resulting in the layout shown in Table 3.

²⁵ *FCLM*, VI, 98.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

Kyrie I	plainchant	not notated
Kyrie II	polyphony	Notated
Kyrie III	plainchant	not notated
Christe I	polyphony	Notated
Christe II	plainchant	not notated
Christe III	polyphony	Notated
Kyrie IV	plainchant	not notated
Kyrie V	polyphony	Notated
Kyrie VI	plainchant	not notated

Table 3

One apparent issue is that, within the edited English band II Mass cycle repertory, there are no *alternatim* Kyries. Within the unedited repertory, however, there is one Mass with exactly the same number of sections as Frye's *So ys emprentid* (M45). This is the *Sine nomine* found in the Brussels Choirbook (M32), which Kirkman argues may also have been composed by Frye.²⁷

This *Sine nomine* is found in the Brussels Choirbook, yet not in the original nucleus, suggesting that it was already being used in the same area and at roughly the same time as the Lucca Choirbook. Whether this suggests a particular liturgical reason for the use of *alternatim* Kyries around Bruges (and also that Frye was active in the area), or a predilection for this particular arrangement by the composer, it seems very clear that there must be some link between the works.

One apparent issue with the *alternatim* explanation is that it does not explain the numbers at the end of the sections. Strohm suggests that these numbers may refer to the number of repetitions needed to allow for a correct performance of the work, section one being performed once,

²⁷ Kirkman (1992), 191–221.

section two twice, and sections three and four three times each.²⁸ Whilst this provides for the correct number of invocations (nine), it leaves a clearly erroneous pattern of one Kyrie, five Christes and three Kyries. It is possible that the work was badly retexted by a scribe so as to remove the original textual plan. This would not account for the placement of the first mensural change after the first invocation, however, something which occurs in no other English fifteenth-century Kyrie. Strohm suggests that these numbers might have been a response to the continental scribe misunderstanding the intended *alternatim* presentation.²⁹ Indeed, if this were the case, it is perhaps more understandable that scribal emendation could lead to such an unusual form.

There is, however, one other important piece of evidence that has previously gone unnoticed and that appears to confuse matters further. In the area damaged by the removal of a historiated letter K,³⁰ there is clearly another number which has likewise been partially destroyed. If this number is compared with the other, more completely preserved numbers, the same double barline demarcating the section where the number is found can be seen. Following this is clearly a descender which looks identical to that of the number 3 notated directly after sections three and four. From this, it seems clear that the number three was also once found after the first Kyrie section.

²⁸ *FCLM*, VI, 82.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ See appendix 5 for a facsimile of this.

Whilst this indeed has the effect of returning the mensural change to its expected position at the third invocation, it does beg the question of what the sign $\frac{1}{2}$ can possibly mean. Given that there are now numbers positioned after every section, the sign $\frac{1}{2}$ can no longer refer to two sections. Further, even if the first Christe invocation is not repeated, there are ten complete invocations. Unless one of the numbers is erroneous,³¹ they clearly cannot refer to the number of repetitions necessary for the performance of the work.

It is possible that the first figure 3 indicates that the Kyrie section must be performed 3 times. The $\frac{1}{2}$ sign may then indicate that this is the music for both the first and the second Christe, with the following figure 3 indicating that this music is for Christe 3. The final figure 3 following the last Kyrie section would then indicate that this too must be repeated three times. This would enable a performance of this movement with the correct number of invocations, but would require the same figure to be used to indicate two different procedures in the same work – something that would seem more plausible if this was indeed the product of a scribe struggling to understand an *alternatim* procedure. It might therefore be concluded that this work, and the *Sine nomine* (M32) that follows the same pattern, are evidence of a hitherto unknown practice of English *alternatim* Kyries.

³¹ The number 3 following the second written Christe seems most likely to have been erroneous. This would suggest three-fold repetition of each Kyrie, the first Christe being performed once and the second repeated twice. This seems rather unlikely since there seems no reason for the composer to alter one of the Christe invocations and none of the Kyrie ones. The probability that an *alternatim* formal scheme was intended in the *Sine nomine* Mass (M32) further compounds this.

To conclude, it seems that the handling of the initial mensural change within non-prosula Kyrie settings is absolutely standardised. Those Masses that are anomalous have clear reasons for their apparent discrepancies, one seeming most likely to have originally carried a prosula text, and the other two conforming to an unusual *alternatim* structure.

Prosula Kyries – anomalies

As shown in table 2, the prosula repertoire seems equally standardised, though with more numerous possibilities for the position of the initial mensural change. Clearly the most common position for the first mensural change in prosula Kyries is after the fifth invocation. Two Masses follow the other apparently usual mensural change after the sixth invocation³² and one has the change arguably after the third or the sixth. As noted above, *Te gloriosus* (M47) is slightly anomalous in that only eight of the prosula invocations are set – the fourth being omitted entirely. Strohm has already noted this unusual omission and observes that there is no *lacuna* in the manuscript.³³ This suggests that the fourth invocation was simply not set, possibly for liturgical reasons (though what these reasons might have been is a matter of speculation). Alternatively, it is possible that this invocation was set by the composer and was omitted by scribal error. Another possibility, one that could be vital to the later discussion, is that there was some telescoping of text, now obscured by missing parts

³² The anonymous *Te gloriosus* Mass (M47), could be argued to have its initial mensural change after the fifth invocation.

³³ *FCLM*, VI, 174–5.

and manuscript damage. Whilst this is not normal practice in a prosula Kyrie, Strohm does note telescoping of the words 'simul adoranda nostrorum scelerum vincula resolve redimens a morte' in the discantus against 'eleyson' in the contratenor. He notes that, as this is a Mass for All Souls, the texting practices might well have differed from those of contemporary settings for liturgical reasons, presenting 'words in most voices, to produce a rich tapestry of verbal sounds'.³⁴

For whatever reason, the fourth invocation now appears to be deleted, and there is also no evidence that this work was ever anything but a prosula Kyrie. Indeed, whether the fourth invocation is present or not, the initial mensural change occurs in either of the two most common positions for a prosula Kyrie.

There is a small number of prosula Kyries for which the initial mensural change occurs after the third invocation. Given that it can now be said that all non-*alternatim*, non-prosula English Kyries have the first mensural change in this very same position, it is important to determine whether or not these Masses could originally have been non-prosula Kyries.

Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1), which uses the prosula text *Omnipotens pater* and survives as an *unicum* in the nucleus of the Brussels Choirbook, has the first mensural change in this unusual position. It also presents other anomalies in the text placement, the most obvious of which is the apparent lack of a Christe section.

³⁴ *FCLM*, VI, 175.

The prosula text following the first mensural change appears to explain these omitted invocations, however. Whilst it begins with the incipit Kyrie, it is then followed by the text of the sixth invocation – a Christe invocation. Seemingly, the mensural change was originally placed after the fifth invocation, with the first two Christe invocations having been apparently deleted – both music and text. There is a problem with this explanation, however. If the overall structural plan for this Mass is considered (Table 4) it is clear that both the texture and mensuration are, in general, extremely tightly controlled.

Kyrie		Gloria		Credo		Sanctus		Agnus	
Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices	Mensuration	Voices
O	DC	O	DC	O	DC	O	DC	O	DC
	CT		CT		CT		CT		CT
	3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv
C	DT	C	DT	C	DT		DT		DC
	DC		DC		DC		DC		CT
	3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv
	CT		CT		DC	C	DT	C	DT
	DC		DC		CT		DC		CT
	3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv		3vv

Table 4 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, III)

Any musical deletion between the third and fifth invocation seems very unlikely indeed without the Kyrie departing entirely from its groundplan. This would only be possible if just music that further extended the 3vv section was removed. Removal of the text of the two invocations seems by far the more likely solution.

Most interestingly, further evidence of textual deletion is present in Plummer's Mass. The entirety of the eighth invocation and the first half of the ninth invocation are also omitted. Again, this deletion is explicable only by positing the deletion of text alone. It is clearly an impossibility to fit the entire prosula text to the existing music, even though no 'extra' music could have been deleted from the Kyrie without damaging the very tight groundplan.

Given that a full prosula text cannot be set within this Kyrie, that the current prosula seems of questionable liturgical use, with no Christe invocations, and that this Kyrie has its first mensural change at the usual point for non-prosula Kyries, it initially seems likely that this was in origin a non-prosula Kyrie. As will be demonstrated later, however, with reference to the internal proportions and overall size of the movement, this answer is equally impossible.

Like Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1), *Salve sancta parens* (M21) is anomalous and has the initial mensural change after the third invocation. Again, this Mass displays unusual text deletion, omitting invocations 6, 8 and 9, leaving a liturgically questionable Kyrie, consisting of just one Christe and four Kyrie invocations.

The *Veni creator spiritus* Mass (M39) is likewise anomalous. It displays only incipit-like fragments of text, though some elements of the scribal texting of the prosula can be determined. The incipit gives the prosula *Cunctipotens genitor*, but after this, the only text present prior to the first mensural change is *leyson*. The incipit following the mensural

change carries the text of the third invocation, *Christe dei splendor*, placing the first mensural change in a position more suggestive of a non-prosula Kyrie. The incipit for the second mensural change suggests it is the *Kyrie ultimum* – presumably the ninth invocation, whilst the prosula text in the discantus and tenor gives the second half of the ninth invocation. Of course, the sparseness of the textual underlay in the manuscript copy does make it rather hard to judge which particular invocations may be missing. As was noted in chapter 3, this cycle is anomalous in many other ways.

One other Mass has an apparently curtailed prosula Kyrie, that of the anonymous *Sine nomine* (M60). This Kyrie has the opposite format to the *alternatim* Kyries of the *Sine nomine* Mass attributed to Frye (M32) and Frye's *So ys emprentid* (M45): a single *Christe* invocation flanked on either side by a pair of Kyrie invocations. The text of the invocations of these Kyrie pairs consist of the first, third, seventh and ninth invocations – indeed suggestive of *alternatim* performance.

However, rather than the second *Christe* invocation, it is actually the first that is present. This means that the Kyrie – as it currently survives – cannot be strictly *alternatim*. In other *alternatim* Kyries, there is, moreover, a clear demarcation of the invocations with double barlines, something not present in this Kyrie. Further, the musical phrasing in the contratenor between invocations 1 and 3 overlaps. This suggests that, rather than a prosula *alternatim* Kyrie, this work was purely polyphonic with several invocations omitted.

Given the missing invocations it is difficult to state before which invocation the first mensural change actually occurs. It follows invocation 3 but could also be seen as occurring before invocation 7 (i.e. after the missing invocation 6) or even be presumed to take place of the missing invocations 5 and 6. What is very clear, however, is that this Kyrie cannot be given the full prosula text.

The positioning of the second mensural change

Clearly, some of the Masses discussed above do not fit the otherwise very clear trends for prosula and non-prosula Kyries. The next element to consider, the positioning of the second mensural change, may help to elucidate whether these anomalies are scribal or compositional. The full details are again given in appendices 6.1 and 6.2, and here summarised below, in Table 5.

Prosula Kyries	
Position of second mensural change	Number of Masses
Before the seventh invocation (?after the sixth but with invocations deleted)	1
After the eighth invocation	5
After the eighth or halfway through the ninth invocation	1
Halfway through the ninth invocation	1
N/A	4
Non-prosula Kyries	
Position of second mensural change	Number of Masses
After the sixth invocation	9
After the eighth invocation	1
N/A	4

Table 5

In the case of non-prosula Kyries, every Mass with a second mensural change, with the exception of the 'Two Kyries' Mass (M50),³⁵ places it after the invocation 6, effectively framing each change of text with a change in mensuration. In terms of the prosula repertoire, the most common position is after invocation 8. One Mass (*Te gloriosus*) has the second mensural change occurring halfway through invocation 9, a position also used in a band I Mass (the *Sine nomine* (M4) variously attributed to Dunstaple, Power and Benet), and so quite possibly common for earlier Masses. It is arguable that another of the Masses (*Veni creator spiritus*) has the mensural change in this position, or otherwise after invocation 8.

The only Mass to depart from the usual positioning is *Salve sancta parens* (M21), one of the few Masses with an anomalous positioning for the first mensural change as well. Indeed, this Mass appears to follow exactly the normal mensural pattern for a non-prosula Kyrie. This would perhaps seem indicative of a Mass which has had a prosula text added scribally.

In general, there is a limit to the usefulness of the positioning of the second mensural change, as many of the anomalous Kyries have only one mensural change. Consequently, other elements must be considered in order to investigate further.

³⁵ Kirkman has already noted that this Mass originally had a prosula Kyrie (Kirkman (1994), 180–99). However, as the surviving manuscript version does not carry the prosula text, this will be counted, for the present, as a non-prosula Kyrie until some further evidence comes to light.

4.4: Internal structural proportions in English Kyries

Strohm has noted a tendency to 'front-load' prosula Kyries and further suggests that those with a tripartite layout have longer initial sections with shorter middle and final sections.³⁶ This section will investigate whether there are indeed clear trends regarding structural proportions observable across the surviving repertory. Appendix 6.3 gives approximate structural ratios for English prosula Kyries.³⁷ These ratios are counted from original note values and not modern bars, since the latter obscures the proportional relationship of sections in different mensurations.³⁸ If modern bars are counted, then the majority of English Masses do follow a clearly 'front-loaded' structure and tripartite cycles do indeed have smaller middle and final sections. However, by contrast, this alternative method of counting only supports some of Strohm's argument. Appendix 6.3 shows that the majority of tripartite Kyries conform to a structure of approximately 4:4:1. This gives the middle section roughly equal proportion to the initial section. Frye's *Nobilis et pulcra* Mass even has a slightly larger middle section than its opening section.

³⁶ *FCLM*, VI, 175.

³⁷ These ratios are not precise and should not be taken to suggest numerological relationships or strict proportions. They are instead attempts at finding the ratio that best expresses the structural balance of the movement in such a way as to suggest general trends.

³⁸ The method here is taken from Brian Trowell, 'Proportion in the Music of Dunstable', *PRMA*, 105 (1978–9), 100–41. The *semibrevis* is used as the main unit of measurement to allow for comparison between those sections in diminution and those not. Since C is considered not to have been found in English works and is therefore generally treated as identical to C , the correct manner of counting diminished mensurations is perhaps less important for the English repertory. However, since the possibility of some of the nominally English Masses being misclassified is admitted here, variant proportional ratios are often given for those Masses in particular. Final *longas* are generally taken to consist of one perfection. Consistency must be maintained within movements and sections of the same Mass.

Only two Masses, *Salve sancta parens* and *Te gloriosus*, exhibit the tripartite structure as described by Strohm. The former is tightly controlled by its absolutely strict groundplan, so any structure is a pre-compositional decision, whilst the latter is the Mass cycle from which Strohm draws his conclusions regarding proportions in the tripartite Kyrie. It seems that this Mass is probably the exception, rather than the norm.

Masses with a single mensural change, as Strohm suggests, are indeed front-loaded. However, they are far closer to having equal proportions for both sections than has previously been considered. Most exhibit a ratio of approximately 5:4, whilst the *Caput* Mass has approximately equal length sections.

The non-prosula English repertory (appendix 6.4) seems to be closer to having roughly equal sections for tripartite movements. Only two bipartite movements are found in this repertory and, since one of these (the *Sine nomine* (M49)) is certainly anomalous in many ways, firm conclusions cannot be drawn. However, the rough proportion of 1:2 for the *Ad fugam reservatam* Mass make sense given that the first mensural change would be expected to occur after invocation 3.

With the structural ratios in appendices 6.3 and 6.4 in mind, attention can again be turned to the anomalous Mass cycles. The first of these, the anonymous *Sine nomine* (M49), has two sections of roughly equal proportion. This is precisely the same as in the *Caput* Mass and very similar to every other bipartite prosula Kyrie since these tend to have have very slightly longer initial sections. This type of handling is

absolutely in contrast to the only other surviving bipartite non-prosula Kyrie, the *Ad fugam reservatam* Mass noted above.

Focussing on average invocation length in the *Sine nomine* Mass (M49) gives further unusual results. The lengths of the final two invocations are particularly short, with invocation 8 totalling seven perfections and invocation 9 totalling six, compared to an average of just under fifteen perfections per invocation for the rest of the Kyrie. Following these last two invocations are a further fifteen perfections of music with the text '*eleyson*' repeated for the last six. This is suggestive of an erroneous attempt at retexting this work, compressing two invocations into the space of one, and leaving the final invocation untexted. The most persuasive reason for this must be the presence of a prosula text in the original form of the movement before scribal retexting (for whatever reason this may have been). Since prosula texts such as *Deus creator omnium* did not use the word Kyrie or Christe in each invocation, continental scribes who were unfamiliar with such prosula texts might have been confused as to where to place the invocations.

The next anomalous Mass, Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1), also initially appears to have been erroneously retexted. It follows the mensural pattern most common for non-prosula Kyries, carries some prosula text and follows the usual internal proportions of a prosula Kyrie.

It is not possible simply to return this Kyrie to a version without a prosula text, however. The opening section, which should hold three invocations, is a total of 51 perfections long and extremely melismatic.

The second section, which should contain twice the number of invocations, is, by contrast, only 32 perfections long. This makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to fit the final six invocations into the music as it currently survives.

It is only just possible to fit the text even of a non-prosula Kyrie into the Plummer *Sine nomine*, since it is required to fit twice the number of invocations into slightly less than half as much music within the second section. However, it is only due to the bipartite structure of this cycle that retexting is simply 'difficult', rather than 'impossible'. If the Kyrie were to have a second mensural change, it would surely be impossible to fit the final three invocations into the final section of music. This is amply demonstrated by the following two anomalous Kyries, both of which are tripartite.

The *Salve sancta parens* Mass (M21), despite having the initial mensural change placed 'correctly' after the third invocation, clearly follows the front-loaded internal ratios more usual for a prosula Kyrie. However, it is almost an impossibility to text it adequately either as prosula or as non-prosula. As noted above, one would expect a tripartite Kyrie to have the second mensural change after invocation 6, effectively framing and articulating each Kyrie and Christe section with mensural changes. For *Salve sancta parens*, this places the final Kyrie invocations in a nineteen-perfection final section, with the first of these invocations taking the first phrase of just six notes. A phrase of six notes is just long enough for the text, but requires every note to take a new syllable. By

comparison, the first three Kyrie invocations are exceptionally long and melismatic with each invocation being, on average, over three times longer. The *Christe* section falls somewhere in between, with each invocation being just under twice as long as those in the final Kyrie section.

This fits perfectly with Strohm's description of the 'front-loaded' structure of prosula Kyries, even if it equates less well with the ratios shown in appendix 6.3. It does seem distinctly closer to the handling of prosula rather than non-prosula Kyries, however. As noted above, the precise musical structure of this movement is entirely controlled by its pre-compositional groundplan. This may offer some explanation as to why the Kyries of both Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1) and of *Salve sancta parens* (M21) display such unusual texting, as both Masses have extraordinarily tightly controlled ground plans, representing a clear initial compositional decision on the composer's part.

In contrast to Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1) and *Salve sancta parens* (M21), *Veni creator spiritus* (M39) does not display strict mensural or textural groundplans. The Kyrie of this Mass does not follow the normal internal ratios for prosula or non-prosula Kyries either, since it has a very long middle section.

The fragmentary nature of the underlaid text leaves the position of the final mensural change somewhat ambiguous, occurring either after invocation 8 or half-way through invocation 9, the usual positions for prosula Kyries. The Mass therefore fits neither the convention for prosula

nor that for non-prosula Kyries. Its initial mensural change occurs in the position more usual in non-prosula Kyries, while the second occurs in the position most usual for prosula settings. It is impossible to text this work adequately as either, since, while the full text of the prosula does not fit into the music, it is equally impossible to fit the final three Kyrie invocations into the final section of the Kyrie. .

The *Sine nomine* (M60) which opens Tr89 is likewise difficult to retext. If it is assumed that the use of a prosula text is erroneous and that the placement of the second set of Kyrie invocations is a vestige of an earlier texting, then this Kyrie would be the only non-prosula Kyrie to have the first mensural change after invocation 6. If the entire text is erroneous, it is rather easier to retext but still exhibits the 'front-loaded' structural ratio that leads to noticeably melismatic earlier invocations and difficulty in placing text within the later ones. It therefore seems difficult, almost impossible, adequately to text this Kyrie as a prosula or non-prosula Kyrie.

4.5: English Kyries in proportion

The final and perhaps most important overall factor in determining whether a Kyrie carried a prosula text is its length. Rather than discussing the length of the Kyrie in absolute terms, it seems more appropriate to discuss it as a percentage of the largest movement in the cycle. This gives a better idea of the relative weight and extent of the movement within the cycle, and disregards issues caused by those Masses which are

particularly lengthy or short as an entire cycle. The length of these movements, as with the internal proportions of the Kyrie, will be counted by the *semibrevis*, rather than the modern barline.

It is well known that prosula Kyries can often be the longest movement within the Mass cycle³⁹ whilst non-prosula Kyries are often the shortest. Indeed, this is borne out in the table shown in appendices 6.5 and 6.6 and summarised in Table 6 below.

Prosula Kyries	
Shortest	75%
Longest	100%
Average	94%
Non-prosula Kyries	
Shortest	29%
Longest	72%
Average	46%
Non-prosula Kyries without M49 and M50	
Shortest	29%
Longest	64% (or 53%)
Average	41%

Table 6

Prosula Kyries appear to represent between 75% and 100% of the largest movement within the cycle, averaging 94%. In contrast, non-prosula Kyries average just 46%, around 30% shorter than the shortest of prosula Kyries. The shortest non-prosula Kyrie is just 29% of the largest movement, whilst the largest is slightly shorter than the shortest of prosula Kyries. The two longest nominally non-prosula Kyries belong to the anonymous *Sine nomine* Masses (M49) and (M50), both of which seem most likely to be scribally emended prosula Kyries. If these two Masses are removed from the equation, the average length is even

³⁹ In these cases, the movement will be counted as 100% of the longest movement and every other movement will be measured as a percentage of the length of the Kyrie.

smaller, at just 41% of the largest movement, while the longest Mass (Pulloy's *Sine nomine* (M33)) drops down to just 64%. Of course, the Pulloy Mass is now widely considered to be continental, rather than English, so the longest more securely English non-prosula Kyrie is just 53% of the longest movement.

Two Masses within this calculation are somewhat ambiguous as to whether diminution should be applied. For the *Thomas cesus* Mass (M52), it makes no difference to the relative length of the Kyrie. The relative length of the Kyrie of the *Te deum* Mass, however, is changed by the application of diminution. The use of ♩ seems more likely in this case since it gives equal internal proportions for the Kyrie and Agnus.⁴⁰ Therefore, this figure is counted in the average, though it makes no difference to the rounded average.

The evidence of the relative lengths of Kyries further suggests that the Kyries of the Plummer *Sine nomine* (M1), *Salve sancta parens* (M21), *Veni creator spiritus* (M39) and *Sine nomine* (M60) were composed with curtailed prosula texts, and that the anonymous Lucca *Sine nomine* (M49) and the 'Two Kyries' Mass (M50) had originally prosula Kyries. The latter two Masses are clearly much closer to the expected length of a prosula Kyrie, even if they would be the shortest Kyries within this group, by just a small margin.

The four Masses which resist retexting as either prosula or non-prosula best fit the proportion of prosula Kyries, equalling 93%, 100%,

⁴⁰ The consequence of this for the possible provenance of the Mass is discussed below in chapter 5.

87% and 83% of the largest movement in the cycle respectively. Clearly, then, these Masses were intended to have curtailed prosula texts that were close to the same size as the largest movement of the Mass, just like full prosula Kyries. However, it seems that the scale of each of the movements within these Masses is reduced from the scale of those with full prosula Kyries. Therefore, the composer of these Masses has chosen to omit portions of the prosula text and, in doing so, has had to take elements of the paradigms for both prosula and non-prosula Kyrie writing.

It seems absolutely clear that there are three types of Kyrie in English Mass cycles, each with its own very particular trends in planning, layout and composition. Prosula Kyries have the first mensural change after invocation 5 or 6 and the second (if present) after invocation 8 or half-way through 9. They exhibit internal proportions of roughly 4:4:1, if tripartite, or have a tendency for slight front-loading (i.e. a ratio of approximately 5:4) if bipartite. They also have an average length of roughly 94% of the length of the largest movement of the Mass cycle, with a range of length of between 75% and 100%. Non-prosula Kyries have the first mensural change after invocation 3 and the second (if present) after invocation 6. They do not exhibit the same 'front-loaded' tendency with much larger final sections, giving roughly equally sized sections. In terms of size and scale, the non-prosula Kyrie is on average around 41% of the largest movement of the cycle, with a range of between 29% and 64%. It could be argued that the upper limit should be even lower than this at around 53%.

Curtailed prosula Kyries exhibit (perhaps unsurprisingly) a mixture of elements from the other two types. They are relatively long movements, the shortest being 83%, the longest 100%, and the average 91% of the length of the largest movement in the cycle. Despite carrying some of the prosula text, they have the first mensural change after invocation 3 (or possibly invocation 6). The second mensural change, if present, can occur either after invocation 6, invocation 8 or halfway through invocation 9. The internal ratios are generally closer to those of the prosula repertoire, especially the Plummer *Sine nomine* (M1) and the *Sine nomine* (M60) that opens Tr89, which both correspond exactly. *Salve sancta parens* also seems closer to this structure than to that of non-prosula Kyries, while *Veni creator spiritus* (M39), by contrast, is again absolutely exceptional. As noted in chapters 3, 4 and 5, this Mass cycle seems likely not to be English. It certainly seems different to the other curtailed prosula Kyries, even if it corresponds better to this categorisation than to prosula and non-prosula Kyries.

4.6: Continental Kyries

With the three types of English Kyrie in mind, the continental comparands can be considered. As expected, the vast majority of these have non-prosula Kyries. The positioning of the initial mensural change generally occurs after the third invocation, just as with English non-prosula Kyries (appendices 6.7 and 6.8 and summarised in Table 7).

Non-prosula Kyries	
Position of initial mensural change	Number of Masses
After the third invocation	27
After the sixth invocation	3
N/A	1
Prosula Kyries	
Position of initial mensural change	Number of Masses
After the third invocation	1
After the sixth invocation	1

Table 7

Du Fay’s *Sine nomine* (*Resvelliés vous*) (CM19), the anonymous *Le serviteur* in Tr88 (CM22) and Tourout’s *Monyel* (CM30) are the only anomalies. Each has a single mensural change, occurring after invocation 6. Perhaps this structure is more common in the continental repertory than in the English, but these Masses could equally, in principle, be scribally emended prosula or curtailed prosula English Kyries.

There are only two continental prosula Kyries within the selection of comparands. The first of these, the *Du cuer je souspier* Mass (CM32), appears to conform perfectly to English norms. It has the initial mensural change after invocation 6 and a nine-invocation prosula text. The handling of this prosula Kyrie is absolutely unique within the continental repertoire and the question must be raised as to whether this Mass is actually English.⁴¹ The prosula text in question, *Orbis factor*, is found in only one fifteenth-century English Kyrie, a single-movement Kyrie in the Beverley

⁴¹ Kirkman has previously noted that some elements of this cycle seem to follow English paradigms but that the cycle is more likely to be Franco-Flemish (see Kirkman (1995), 153 n.37, 183). In the following chapters, more evidence of English origin for this Mass is provided.

fragments. It was clearly quite commonly used on the continent since Du Fay uses it for some single movement Kyries.⁴²

The version of *Orbis factor* used in *Du cuer je souspier* is highly unusual. It differs from the standard Sarum version in the following lines:⁴³ 2. *lux* for *fons*. 3. *Nostras* and *omnes* reversed. 6 *confirmans* for *conservans*. *consonans* for *confirmansque*. 7 and 8 reversed. 7. *Pium que te planctem ab utroque* for *tuum teque flamen utrorumque*. 8. *atque* and *unum* reversed. 9. *Jesu bone* for *paraclite*. *vite* for *in te*. It also does not follow the Roman version, the form of which seems highly standardised. A study of various Sarum and York versions shows many similar variants across both English rites. The Sarum Missal F-Pa 135⁴⁴ also gives *lux* for *fons* in line 2. F-Pa 135 and O-BI Lat. Lit. b. 5⁴⁵ and *Missale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*,⁴⁶ both York Missals, also gives *confirmans* for *conservans*. There is considerable variety across the sources for *confirmansque*, though none give *consonans*. F-Pa 135, O-BI Lat. Lit. b. 5 and *Missale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis* all add *Jesu bone*, though F-Pa 135 does not omit *paraclite* and O-BI Lat. Lit. b. 5 reverses *jesu* and *bone*. *Vite* seems likely to be a misreading of *in te*, through simple minim confusion. In general, it is perhaps closest to the standard

⁴² Alejandro Planchart, 'Music for the Papal Chapel' in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, Richard Sherr (ed.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 112.

⁴³ For the standard Sarum version see *The Use of Salisbury I: The Ordinary of the Mass*, Nicholas Sandon (ed.) (Newton Abbot: Antico, 1984), 61.

⁴⁴ See the edition given in *The Sarum Missal: edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, J. Wickham Legg (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916), 6.

⁴⁵ This missal deviates quite clearly in several ways from the generally accepted Use of York. See the facsimile in *Oxford Bodleian Library MS.Lat.liturg.b.5*, Edward Hiley (ed.) (Canada: Institute of Medieval Music, 1995), f.83r.

⁴⁶ *Missale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis* W. G. Henderson (ed.), SS, 59–60. (Durham: Andrews and Co., 1874). This edition consults several York Missals.

York Use, but still somewhat distant from it. It very clearly does not follow the Roman Use, but might perhaps instead follow a local continental Use. If *vite* is a scribal misreading of *in te*, then perhaps other infidelities are caused by scribal unfamiliarity with the (possibly York) text.

At this point, other examples of prosula Kyries in continental Mass cycles will be considered. These Masses fall outside the range of the comparands but, since there are so few extant continental Masses with prosula Kyries, a direct comparison is not only possible, but of extreme importance.

The first to be considered is Tinctoris's *L'homme armé* Mass which sets *Cunctorum plasmator summus*, used in no fifteenth-century English Mass cycle and which was quite possibly specifically composed for this Mass. This setting does not follow English practice since the two mensural changes occur after invocations 3 and 6, as expected in non-prosula Kyries, and the internal structural balance is relatively equal with a ratio of roughly 8:5:6. The overall length of the movement is 51% of the largest movement. The movement is therefore far too small to invite comparison with an English prosula Kyrie since it is 24% smaller than the smallest example.

The Naples *L'homme armé* Masses follow similar trends and also may have had their prosula texts composed for this specific context. Masses nos. 1, 4 and 6 have nine-invocation prosulae with mensural changes after invocations 3 and 6. Mass no. 2 sets only five invocations but keeps the same principle of division for the mensural changes. The

first occurs after the initial three Kyrie invocations. The following Christe and Kyrie sections each set only a single invocation, with the second mensural change being used as a point of structural division between them.

Masses nos. 3 and 5 have three invocations. Again, the mensural changes are found at the structural division of these sections, after invocations 1, 2 and 3. This is equivalent to the positioning after invocation 3 and 6 in a full nine-invocation Kyrie.

As is clear, the continental Mass cycles with prosula Kyries follow a completely different pattern to English cycles. These examples seem all to belong to specific contexts quite possibly related to the *L'homme armé* tradition and quite possibly setting specifically composed prosula texts. Whilst there are clearly three distinct compositional patterns found within the corpus of English Kyries, there is no such distinction within the continental repertory.

Having established that the prosula Kyries of the *L'homme armé* tradition are quite distinct, both contextually and in terms of compositional practice, attention can again be turned to the continental comparands. Within this group, the only other Mass to carry a prosula text is the anonymous *O rosa bella* in Tr89 (CM35), which again does not follow English practice. The text appears curtailed since only three invocations are present. However, this particular Marian prosula text only

ever carried three invocations.⁴⁷ It seems never to have been used in an English Mass cycle, and certainly not within the fifteenth century. It does, however, appear to have enjoyed a vogue on the Iberian Peninsula, having been set by Juan de Anchieta (1462–1523).⁴⁸

While continental composers often set prosula texts with fewer than nine invocations, there are no surviving examples of an English composer doing this.⁴⁹ Further, *O rosa bella* (CM35) perfectly fits the pattern of other prosula continental Kyries. Not only does it have a prosula text with fewer than nine invocations, it has the mensural changes at the expected structural divisions of the tripartite musical form.

Returning to a broader consideration of the comparands, the positioning of the second mensural change provides no additional insight. All of the Kyries with a second mensural change have it at the structural division of the tripartite form and each of the anomalous settings have only a single mensural change. Therefore, the discussion can proceed directly to a consideration of internal structural ratios.

Like their English counterparts, non-prosula continental Kyries most often use equal internal ratios, or ratios that are close to being equal (appendices 6.9 and 6.10). However, several continental Kyries appear to

⁴⁷ See, for example, its use by Juan de Anchieta in his *Rex virginum amator* Mass, where it also has only three invocations.

⁴⁸ See Arturo Tello Ruiz-Pérez, *Transferencias del Canto Medieval: Los Tropos Del 'Ordinarium Missae' En Los Manuscritos* (Doctoral Thesis: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2006), 262. Several sources from England are listed for this prosula text, including F-Pa 135, discussed above. However, none is dated later than the thirteenth century. There are, however, several continental sources for this text listed well into the fifteenth century.

⁴⁹ The difference between a curtailed prosula Kyrie and one that was designed never to have the full nine invocations should be noted. It appears that the former was a solely English practice and the latter a solely continental one.

have middle sections that are around half the expected length, suggestive of the C mensuration being equal to C. This is not necessarily due to the practice of copying the English mensuration C as C in continental sources, since the proportional mensural distinction between C and C had begun to erode by this point. It seems dangerous to use this particular feature as an indicator of English provenance.

By contrast, the opposite situation, namely unaccountably long middle sections in nominally English Masses, is arguably a good indicator of continental provenance. The *Thomas cesus* and *Te deum* Masses (M52 and M61) in particular seem absolutely to require C mensuration for the internal proportions of their Kyries to follow the usual pattern. Since this mensuration was not used in England, continental provenance seems much more likely. Tik's *Sine nomine* Mass also seems rather more likely to require C in order to approach a more equal internal structure. Less certain are the Bedyngham and Standley *Sine nomine* Masses (M15 and M34) which may seem more balanced in C than in C.

Some continental cycles have Kyries that approach the structural ratios found in English prosula examples. Du Fay's *Sine nomine* (*Resvelliés vous*) (CM19) appears close to the structural balance of bipartite English prosula Kyries, having a ratio of 4:3. In contrast, the anonymous *Le serviteur* (CM22) and Tourout's *Monyel* (CM30), whilst displaying front-loading, have markedly shorter second sections than would be expected in English Kyries. Perhaps the closest to the form of tripartite English prosula Kyries are the anonymous *Esclave puist il*

devenir Mass (CM25), Bassere's *Sine nomine* Mass (CM33) and the anonymous *Sine nomine* Mass (CM37) from the same source. The first two Masses have internal ratios of 4:3:2 and the remaining Mass 4:3:1.

The internal dimensions of the Kyrie of *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32) are close to English bipartite prosula Kyrie practice with slight front-loading, but only if the Φ mensuration is taken to be correct. This mensuration is certainly more likely in this case than C, as will be discussed below. This mensural practice may be suggestive of continental origin even if it produces a distinctly English Kyrie structure.

The final point of discussion is the length of these continental Kyries in relation to the largest movement in the cycle (appendices 6.11 and 6.12). The average length of the non-prosula continental Kyries is just 45% of the largest movement, similar to their English equivalents but very much smaller than English prosula Kyries.

Whilst the average continental non-prosula Kyrie is clearly relatively succinct, several Masses within this group have rather large Kyries. Two of the Kyries are within the size expected for the English prosula Kyrie: Du Fay's *Ave regina* Mass (CM3) which is 80% of the largest movement and Tourout's *Monyel* (CM30) which is 79%. Alongside these are Du Fay's *Ecce ancilla domini* (CM1) (60%), *Wünslichen schön* (CM10) (63%), Faugues' *Le serviteur* (CM26) (65%) and *Gross sehnen* (CM27) (61%), which all have Kyries that are over 60% of the largest movement in the cycle.

Both of the Du Fay Masses otherwise have normal non-prosula continental Kyries without other unusual features. Crucially, both these pieces are later works of Du Fay, *Ecce ancilla domini* having been copied c.1463–4 and *Ave regina* c.1473–4.⁵⁰ The apparently unusual length of these Kyries may therefore be indicative of the general influence of the English predilection for relatively equal-length movements in the later fifteenth century. *Gross sehnem*, appearing as a *unicum* in Tr89 and *Wünslichen schön*, also in Tr89 and Strahov, were copied around the same date as *Ecce ancilla domini*. Faugues' *Le serviteur* is copied only slightly earlier, towards the end of Tr88. Tourout's *Monyel* (CM30) has several other possibly English traits, including a mensural division at a point common in prosula Kyries and front-loading, even if it is rather more extreme front-loading than in English cycles.

Neither Du Fay's *Sine nomine* (*Resvelliés vous*) (CM19) nor the anonymous *Le serviteur* (CM22) is particularly long, despite following the usual mensural division for English prosula cycles and having 'front-loaded' structural proportions. The longest, the *Le serviteur* Mass (CM22), has a Kyrie that is 44% of the length of the longest movement – far shorter than the shortest prosula movement. Du Fay's *Sine nomine* (CM22) is shorter still at just 43% of the longest movement.

Turning attention to the continental prosula repertory, *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32) once again follows English prosula Kyrie trends. The Kyrie measures 76% of the longest movement in the cycle – easily within

⁵⁰ Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Du Fay [Dufay; Du Fayt], Guillaume', in *NGD*.

the expected range for prosula English Kyries. The *O rosa bella* Mass (CM35), by contrast, has a Kyrie that is 47% of the longest movement in the cycle, only slightly longer than the average non-prosula Kyrie and far too short for an English prosula Kyrie.

In chapter 3, the English authorship of *Salve sancta parens* (M39) was questioned. Kirkman has previously suggested that, since the only Mass cycles with three-invocation prosula Kyries are continental, *Veni creator spiritus* may be so too.⁵¹ Further, he notes that no other English Kyrie has its initial mensural change after the third invocation. Clearly, the evidence given in this chapter disproves this final point since the Plummer *Sine nomine* (M1) and anonymous *Salve sancta parens* Masses have their initial mensural changes at precisely this point.

In clear support of Kirkman's view, however, is the fact that both *Cunctipotens genitor*, used in *Veni creator spiritus*, and *Rex virginum*, used in *O rosa bella*, utilise the same melody. It is possible, therefore, that it was a scribe who substituted the text, taking a three-invocation prosula and replacing it with three lines of a nine-invocation prosula. This would explain the fact that one voice carries half of the ninth invocation of this prosula whilst the instruction 'Kyrie ultimum' is given simultaneously in another voice. Perhaps the 'Kyrie ultimum' did once start at this point. The fact that there is no discernible trace of the Kyrie melody in this work seems to rule this out, however. So too does the length of the movement, which seems too great for a continental cycle.

⁵¹ Kirkman (1995), 153–5, 179–81 and 185.

Kirkman certainly seems to see *Veni creator spiritus* as standing closer to the continental prosula Kyrie tradition than the English. It has been argued here that it appears to stand closer to the curtailed prosula English Kyrie than to any other repertory. However, it does not truly fit comfortably with either repertory, since its internal structure is absolutely unique. Yet again, this Mass defies easy categorisation.

4.7 Mass-motet cycles and *contrafact* Kyries

Our understanding of the compositional practices noted in prosula, non-prosula and curtailed prosula English Kyries can be put to one final important use. For some time, there has been a degree of confusion about the status of those motets which appear to be part of Mass cycles, since it has been argued that some English prosula Kyries, extended in form as such pieces are, were retexted by continental scribes as motets. A good example of this is *Summe trinitati* (M28). The fact that the motet *Salve Regina* is clearly linked to *Summe trinitati* has been known for many years.⁵² It begins with the same motto, has the same *cantus firmus* and also uses the same mensural scheme.

In pointing to discrepancies between the text and music, Curtis has tried to demonstrate that retexting from an unusable prosula Kyrie to a motet is most likely.⁵³ However, there is considerable debate over whether this is truly a retexting of the Kyrie, given that there is a clear

⁵² See, for example, Kenney (1964), 142–3 and Manfred Bukofzer, 'English Church Music of the Fifteenth Century', in *New Oxford History of Music*, Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham (eds.), 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 212.

⁵³ *FCLM*, III, 188–9.

overlap with what Snow has called the 'Mass-motet cycle'. Snow has noted that many motets are similarly linked to Masses for which a Kyrie already survives.⁵⁴ Strohm's suggestion that there are indeed two classifications of these 'Mass-motet cycles', one conceived as a genuine six-movement cycle, and the other as a five-movement cycle including a reworking of the Kyrie as a motet,⁵⁵ seems sensible. If six-movement Mass-motet cycles existed, then it seems much less of a stretch for a scribe to decide to reuse an English Kyrie in such a manner.

It is possible for the motet to be a later composition modelled on the Mass, using the same *cantus firmus*, motto and proportions. Until now, it has been impossible to judge which Masses may have been six-movement Mass-motet cycles with missing Kyries, and which may have been retexted. This problem is best demonstrated again with *Summe trinitati* and the *Salve regina* motet. Whilst *Summe trinitati* is found as an *unicum* within the Brussels Choirbook, the motet is found in the slightly earlier Trent 88 manuscript. This raises many questions as it appears that the motet had its own discrete dissemination pattern.

Perhaps the first question to ask is why the scribe of the nucleus of the Brussels Choirbook decided to copy two Masses with prosula Kyries and one with a curtailed prosula Kyrie. This is suggestive of an English context, but perhaps an English context on the continent.⁵⁶ Alongside this, there are two Masses without Kyries, one of which might have been

⁵⁴ Snow (1969), 301–20.

⁵⁵ Strohm (1989), 87–9.

⁵⁶ See, for example, some of the contexts described in chapter 1 of this thesis.

elsewhere retexted as a motet. This seems suggestive of three of the Masses coming directly from England (or from a manuscript like the Lucca Choirbook with an English context), with the other two coming via continental vectors. It also suggests an English context envisaged for the manuscript after completion. It is possible that the motet *Salve Regina* was in the exemplar for the Brussels Choirbook, either as a retexted Kyrie or as part of a Mass-motet cycle, and was simply not copied by the Brussels scribe who was only interested in Mass cycles.

This still does not resolve the question of whether the motet was originally a Kyrie. It is possible that an original six-movement Mass-motet cycle came to the continent from England where the overly long prosula Kyrie was not recopied. The motet could still have been copied and distributed separately, especially given the continental practice of breaking-up movements of cycles into separate sections of manuscripts before Trent 88 (c.1456), as discussed in the excursus. The scribe of the Brussels Choirbook is unlikely to have retexted the prosula Kyrie himself since he copied other prosula texts, but there is no way to know whether the motet was a Kyrie retexted by an earlier continental scribe.

Whilst the separate dissemination of *Summe trinitati* and *Salve Regina* makes the difficulties faced when analysing these Mass-motet cycles more obvious, the same questions can be asked about several of the Masses under discussion. The Masses in question are Frye's *Summe trinitati* (M28), *Meditatio cordis* (M36), Philipi's *Hilf und gib rat* (M37), *O rosa bella* (M41), Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51) and *Esclave puist il*

devenir (CM25). Out of these, *O rosa bella*, *So ys emprentid* and *Esclave puist il devenir* all appear to fit into the context of the Mass-motet cycle since all have surviving short, non-prosula Kyries.

O rosa bella (M41) and *So ys emprentid* (M51) will be discussed first, as both are based on English secular song. The only conceivable way in which the motets of these cycles could have been retexted prosula Kyries is if the current Kyries were later additions, added by another composer to 'complete' the now incomplete cycles. There is absolutely no evidence of this, however. The lack of mensural changes in the *O rosa bella* cycle makes it even harder to develop this line of enquiry further as the degree to which the motet conforms to the norms of the prosula English Kyrie cannot be judged. The one stylistic marker which can be investigated is its relative length; at 71% of the largest movement in the cycle, it is close to the size range for prosula Kyries, but perhaps slightly too short.

So ys emprentid is similar in that there is no mensural change in the Kyrie of the Mass. Again, this limits the investigation. The motet is actually the largest part of the cycle, something very common in prosula Kyries. Despite this Mass containing no mensural changes, there is a fairly clear structural divide in the motet. This divide is demarcated by both the return to the A section of the *cantus firmus* and a double bar line in each voice of the Trent 88 source. This structural divide splits the movement into a ratio of 3:2, which would not seem out of place for a prosula Kyrie. One final important point to consider is the presence of a text favoured in

England. As Bent has noted, the text *Stella celi extirpavit* was very common in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but appeared only twice on the continent. Most interestingly, the first continental book of hours to contain *Stella celi*, in a form clearly indebted to English versions of the text, was owned by Charles d'Orleans, whose links with England and with Le Rouge have been discussed in chapter 1.⁵⁷

The two continental motets to use the *Stella celi* text are found with the tenor of the chanson *So ys emprentid*. This seems highly suggestive of some link between the two continental works. Perhaps both are by Le Rouge or another composer connected to Charles d'Orleans. Whilst the presence of a motet text so clearly indebted to English practices is further evidence of the English influence on *So ys emprentid*, it does not help with the question of whether the motet is a retexted Kyrie.

On balance, it seems that the *O rosa bella* (M41) and *So ys emprentid* (M51) Masses are Mass-motet cycles, rather than cycles with retexted Kyries and new shorter Kyries added later. The idea that two Masses, both based on secular English texts, would have undergone the unusual practice of adding new Kyries to an incomplete Mass cycle seems to stretch credulity.⁵⁸ Indeed, the *So ys emprentid* Mass is thought to be a continental, English-influenced Mass, an argument which will be supported in this chapter and chapter 5. As such, it is highly doubtful that

⁵⁷ Margaret Bent, 'New and Little Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony', *JAMS*, 21 (1968), 147–8.

⁵⁸ There is, however, the example of the Kyrie added by Cervelli to the *Sine nomine* Mass by Domarto (CM6) in SPB80, as well as the possibility that the Kyrie currently linked to the *Dueil angoisieux* (M54) Mass may not be the original. Despite this, it seems a fairly rare occurrence.

it would have had a prosula Kyrie to begin with. Further, the only other Mass which is based on this chanson does not use a prosula text in the Kyrie.

The continental Mass *Esclave puist il devenir* (CM25) seems likewise to be a Mass-motet cycle. There is no indication whatsoever that this Mass is English, and therefore it is almost certain not to have had an original nine-invocation prosula Kyrie. The scale of the motet is around 82% of the largest movement, making it an appropriate size for a prosula Kyrie. The mensural division occurs at a point which divides the movement into an approximate ratio of 2:1. Whilst this is a clear instance of 'front-loading', as would be expected in a prosula Kyrie, there would usually be somewhat less difference in relative size between the two sections in a bipartite prosula Kyrie.

In comparison to the three cycles with six movements, the other Masses offer rather more complex problems, since their Kyries do not survive. The most problematic of these Masses is Frye's *Summe trinitati* (M28), precisely because it has no mensural change. Unlike *So ys emprentid* (M51), which has a repeat of the *cantus firmus* and double barlines, there is absolutely no indication of a structural break in this Mass; the only indicator that can be relied upon is the relative length of the movement. At around 81% of the length of the longest movement in the cycle, it is an appropriate length to be a retexted Kyrie. Of course, all of the other motets which appear to have been part of true Mass-motet cycles have also been around the appropriate lengths for prosula Kyries.

Without further information, it seems best to agree only that the Mass could well have been an original prosula Kyrie. However, it could clearly also have been part of an original Mass-motet cycle.

Meditatio cordis (M36) has a mensural change but the uncertainty surrounding the provenance of the Mass leaves ambiguity regarding whether the mensuration should be read as C or C . Therefore, the relative size and structural ratios must be considered with both mensurations. At either 94% (C) or 83% (C) of the length of the longest movement, the motet is a perfectly appropriate length for a prosula Kyrie. The structural divide given a mensuration of C gives almost equal proportions with a slight 'front-loading', exactly as expected for English prosula Kyries. However, taking the mensuration as C , the ratio is approximately 1:2. Therefore, the motet is only appropriately proportioned to be a retexted English prosula Kyrie if it makes use of a mensuration not used in England.

Gerber suggests that the ceremonial Amen section at the end of the motet would not have been used in a prosula Kyrie.⁵⁹ Whilst this is certainly true, Gerber does not mention that a similar section with a double barline, followed by longer notes in all voices marked with *fermate* is actually found in every movement. A ceremonial Amen section is unusual as an ending for any Mass movement, other than the Gloria or Credo. However, since this feature occurs in every movement, it seems to be a facet of the music of the entire cycle, rather than simply a reaction

⁵⁹ *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 100.

to the setting of the motet text. Therefore, it seems that this motet should not in any way be discounted as having originally been a Kyrie on this basis alone.

Further, Gerber, following Pope, suggests that the motet may be linked to Cornago's *Ayo visto lo mappamundi* Mass (CM9).⁶⁰ It seems entirely anomalous that the Mass and motet of a cycle would be based on different *cantus firmi*, however. The motet also clearly follows the same mensural scheme that is strictly adhered to throughout the *Meditatio cordis* (M36) Mass cycle and which occurs in only some movements of the Cornago Mass. The 'ceremonial Amen section' seems to provide another clear link between the motet and the *Meditatio cordis* cycle, since it is so rare a phenomenon in other Mass cycles. It is also perfectly common in other motets with explicit Amen sections.

In general, the motet seems far closer to the *Meditatio cordis* Mass (M36) than to *Ayo visto lo mappamundi* (CM9). Further to this, the Mass has had doubts raised about its English provenance – doubts which will be supported in this thesis, not least since the internal proportions of the motet only resemble those of a prosula Kyrie if taken using a uniquely continental mensuration. If the Mass is eventually reclassified as continental, this drastically reduces the likelihood that the motet might once have been a prosula Kyrie.

Like *Meditatio cordis*, Philipi's *Hilf und gib rat* (M37) has ambiguity over whether C or C♯ should be measured. The motet forms either 92% or

⁶⁰ *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 100.

97% of the largest movement in the cycle. If C is taken as the correct mensuration then the two sections are relatively equal with a slightly longer second section. If Φ is correct then the ratio is closer to 1:2. It remains possible that this motet was originally a retexted Kyrie, therefore. However, there is no definitive evidence either way.

A final point, relevant to many of these motets, is the presence of one more voice than in the corresponding Mass movements. This occurs in four of the six cycles with attached motets: *O rosa bella* (M41), Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51), Philipi's *Hilf und gib rat* (M37), and *Esclave puist il devenir* (CM25). Only Frye's *Summe trinitati* (M28) and *Meditatio cordis* (M36) have the same number of voices in both motet and Mass. Given that *O rosa bella*, *So ys emprentid* and *Esclave puist il devenir* are all thought to be true six-movement Mass-motet cycles, it seems likely that this is a common trait for Mass-motet cycles. This suggests that Philipi's *Hilf und gib rat* (M37) is more likely to fit into this category, too.

However, the above point raises further questions concerning the *Summe trinitati* and *Meditatio cordis* Masses. It previously seemed more likely that *Meditatio cordis* was a Mass-motet cycle. However, the motet does not have an additional voice. This may be a point in favour of linking the motet to the *Ayo visto lo mappamundi* cycle (CM9), as the Mass movements have one voice fewer than the motet. In either case, the motet seems most likely to have been part of an original six-movement Mass-motet cycle.

Frye's *Summe trinitati* (M28) is the only other possible Mass-motet cycle which has an equal number of voices in the cycle and in the motet. This perhaps nudges the motet further towards being a retexted Kyrie than a true six-movement Mass-motet cycle.

Conclusions

To conclude the discussion of the Kyrie, it would seem that there are clear differences between the ways in which English composers handled prosula, curtailed prosula and non-prosula Kyrie texts. In contrast, continental composers handled prosula and non-prosula Kyries identically. Despite this, there are still some differences to be observed between the continental and English handling even of non-prosula Kyries. A clearer understanding of the compositional trends in the five types of Kyrie discussed above enables the following conclusions to be drawn:

- 1) that the anonymous *Sine nomine* Masses (M49) and (M50) once had prosula texts which were suppressed by scribal emendation.
- 2) that the Plummer *Sine nomine* (M1), and the anonymous *Salve sancta parens* (M21), *Veni creator spiritus* (M39) and *Sine nomine* (M60) Masses should all be seen as having curtailed prosula Kyries – that is, which choose to set only some of the text of a full nine-invocation prosula Kyrie.
- 3) that *Thomas cesus* (M52) and *Te deum* (M61) appear to have been composed using the C mensuration and therefore are likely to be continental in origin or inspiration.
- 4) that Du Fay's *Ecce ancilla domini* (CM1) and *Sine nomine* (*Resvelliés vous*) (CM19) Masses and the anonymous Tr88 *Le serviteur* (CM22) Mass appear to be influenced in several ways by English prosula Kyries, but very clearly are not scribally emended English works.

5) that *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32) seems overwhelmingly likely to have a prosula Kyrie composed in the English manner, and which has not undergone scribal emendation.

6) that Tourout's *Monyel* (CM30) may once have had a prosula Kyrie in the English manner, but that the text could have been lost through scribal emendation.

7) that *Meditatio cordis* (M36), Philipi's *Hilf und gib rat* (M37), *O rosa bella* (M41), Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51) and *Esclave puist il devenir* (CM25) appear most likely to be six-movement Mass-motet cycles.

8) that only Frye's *Summe trinitati* (M28) could plausibly have an apparent motet which once was a prosula Kyrie.

9) that the only unambiguously English example in the group of Masses with motets is Frye's *Summe trinitati*, suggesting that the Mass-motet cycle was a continental phenomenon and further questioning the provenance of the *Meditatio cordis*, *Hilf und gib rat*, *O rosa bella* and *So ys emprentid* cycles.

With these conclusions in mind, the discussion can proceed to further comparative analysis of English and continental works, in chapter 5. This chapter gives an in-depth view of other movements of these Masses before offering a summative conclusion that also considers the findings of chapter 4.

Chapter 5

Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Cycles and their Continental Contemporaries – Further Investigations

Chapter 5 further develops the investigative approach and mode of analysis seen in chapter 4, focussing on other movements of the Mass and on the Mass cycle as a whole. As with chapter 4, the focus remains essentially on structural and textual elements. The analysis will focus on the following topics: textual omission and telescoping in the Credo (**5.1**); the placement of mensural changes in the Sanctus (**5.2**); the placement of mensural changes in the Agnus Dei (**5.3**); larger mensural schemes (**5.4**); textural groundplans (**5.5**); and size and scale within the cycle as a whole (**5.6**). Finally, the English and continental repertoire groups will be re-evaluated, further suggesting which Masses may fall between the two and why (**5.7**). This conclusion will take into account the findings of chapter 4 and suggest those Masses that will form the basis of the case studies in chapter 6.

5.1: Textual omission and telescoping in the Credo

The text of the Credo is the longest within the Mass Ordinary, making this often the longest polyphonic movement. As noted in the introduction, the privileging of pre-compositional groundplans over the compositional setting of the text is a common feature of the English Mass cycle. One symptom of this is the reduction in length of the Credo to be more

commensurate with the other movements of the cycle.¹ At first glance, the omission and telescoping of text within many fifteenth-century cycles can be seen as stemming from this desire for relative internal balance. Indeed, the omission of lines of Credo text is often seen as an indicator of English provenance.² However, it is clear that the problem is more complex, since omissions in the Credo are also found in undisputedly continental Masses. Further, there is a degree of ambiguity surrounding the question of textual omission and telescoping in continental copies of English Masses. The frequent continental practice of texting only the highest voice leads to lines of Credo text carried in only the lower voices being in effect deleted, rather than telescoped. Occasionally, these texts survive as incipits, giving a tantalising hint of original telescoping, which has to be reconstructed. As well as musical/textual reasons for text omission, some scholars have sought to provide theological explanations. Clearly, attempting to resolve the ambiguity between textual omission and scribally devised telescoping is of extreme importance.

Telescoping in the Credo is extremely common in the English repertoire and almost unheard of in contemporary continental works.³

Indeed, text omission too was an inherently English feature in the band I

¹ Telescoping and deletion of lines of the Credo text actually predates the Mass cycle by some time. Curtis has noted the application of this technique in the single Mass movements found in Old Hall. See Gareth Curtis, *The English Masses of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 5557*, (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Manchester, 1979), 181–213.

² See, for example, Hamm (1968), 57.

³ Many additional examples of telescoping in individual Credo movements from band I are given in *FCLM, VIII: Settings of the Gloria and Credo*, Peter Wright (ed.), EECM, 55 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2013). Wright notes that all but two of the Credo settings in this edition utilise telescoping. One utilises text omission instead and may not be English. The second is a particularly early and syllabic setting. (*FCLM, VIII*), xvi.

Mass repertoire.⁴ Curtis argues that the use of either telescoping or text omission in the Credo occurs in only one continental Mass prior to Tr93: Pullois' *Sine nomine* (M33) which he argues is English.⁵ The Masses on which this thesis focusses belong to precisely the period in which Curtis implies that both telescoping and text omission begin to be used by continental composers. It is therefore important to assess the degree to which either text omission or telescoping can be seen as an indicator of English provenance for the band Ib and band II cycles.

Ruth Hannas was one of the first to attempt to explain the omission of text within the Credo.⁶ Her explanation focussed predominantly on the theological and political aspects of this argument, referring to the well-known disputes around the '*filioque*' clause,⁷ and the so-called '*Caput controversy*' surrounding whether the Pope should indeed be seen as the head of the church.

In noting that the most common omissions from the Credo include the '*filioque*' clause, Hannas suggests that the predominant reason for this is attempted reconciliation with the Eastern Church.⁸ This is especially

⁴ To the example of text omission, rather than telescoping, noted by Wright above, Curtis' assertion that there may well be other examples of Credos with genuine text omissions, rather than incompletely copied telescoping, can be added. Curtis (1979), 206–7.

⁵ Ibid., 51.

⁶ Ruth Hannas, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo', *JAMS*, 5 (1952), 155–86.

⁷ The clause in question is as follows: *Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum, et vivificantem: qui ex Patre Filioque procedit* – And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son. Dispute over the phrase is one of the key theological disputes on which the East-West schism focussed. For a summary of the schism see Henry Chadwick, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church: From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁸ Hannas (1952), 164–7.

resonant in the *L'homme armé* Masses, she argues, suggesting that these Masses may well refer to the shared threat of the Turks to all Christendom.⁹

Hannas draws parallels between the *Caput* Mass tradition and contemporary theological debates, specifically to do with the question surrounding the Pope as head of the church. She suggests that the omission of contentious lines and use of a *cantus firmus* using the word *Caput* is a direct reference to this debate.¹⁰ Since the first *Caput* cycle is now known to be English, this argument almost certainly falls. The omission of Credo text is far more likely the vestige of a telescoped Credo, as in so many other cases.

These types of argument still appear to have currency within more recent scholarship, however: Christopher Reynolds has recently used a theological explanation for the omission of the '*filioque*' clause in the *Thomas cesus* Mass (M52) to argue for its composition by Caron for a particular Roman context.¹¹ On the other hand, Gareth Curtis has shown that a theological explanation simply fails to account for text omission in a great number of Credos and in other movements.¹² Indeed, as demonstrated in chapter 4, some Masses even curtail prosula Kyrie texts.

Whilst theological reasons may be an important factor in text omission (in certain cases at least), specifically musical considerations

⁹ Hannas (1952), 164–7.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Reynolds (1995), 207–8. Many of Reynolds' arguments are challenged in chapter 6.

¹² Curtis (1979), 181.

must also be taken into account. Indeed, it seems possible to reconcile both these types of argument, since composers may have reduced the size of the Credo for primarily musical reasons by omitting theologically problematic portions of the text.

Before each repertoire group is considered, Curtis' detailed work on the subject will be discussed. Curtis has demonstrated that the telescoping of Credos within the earlier Old Hall repertoire follows some simple underlying principles. He notes that the entire text is underlaid, with the upper two voices telescoped, in order, and with no more than two independent passages of text at once. When structural points are reached, the text must be complete up to that point.¹³ As will be shown below, only some of these principles apply to the band II repertoire.

Perhaps more immediately useful to the present discussion is Curtis's work on the nucleus of the Brussels Choirbook. In these cycles, the Credo has clearly undergone scribal emendation, which obscures earlier telescoping. Despite this, Cox's *Sine nomine* Mass (M29) survives in Brussels in a rather more completely preserved manner. Other than replacing the odd word omitted from the lower voices, the only line which Curtis has had to reconstruct is *Qui locutus est per prophetas* which he adds to the contratenor line underneath *procedit* in the discantus.¹⁴

Using the example of the Cox Mass (M29), Curtis argues that many of the principles of Credo telescoping outlined for the Old Hall repertoire

¹³ Curtis (1979), 187–8.

¹⁴ See the edition in *FCLM*, III, 118–24.

still apply. However, in Cox's Mass, all three voices are involved in the telescoping of different lines of text simultaneously, breaking both the apparent prohibition (1) against the tenor being involved in telescoping and (2) against more than two lines being telescoped simultaneously.¹⁵ This occurs in at least one other English Mass from the period, the *Sine nomine* Mass (M62), attributed to Plummer, which takes this technique to its extreme, setting several different sentences of the text simultaneously in all three voices.

Having identified the underlying principles for Credo telescoping, Curtis demonstrates that there are two distinct forms. The more common involves 'the simultaneous treatment of alternate phrases or groups of phrases', which Curtis refers to as 'alternate-phrase telescoping'. The alternative form involves the splitting of the text into two separate groups, which Curtis names as 'two-section' telescoping.¹⁶ This effectively places the first half of the text in the upper voice above the second half in the lower voices. Within the Brussels Choirbook on which he focusses, Curtis has identified only Masses that utilise 'alternate-phrase telescoping'.

In investigating the omission and telescoping of text within the Credo, the different parts of the text have been numbered to enable easy comparison. The numbering system differs slightly from that used by Curtis, necessitated by the comparison of a greater number of texts,

¹⁵ Curtis (1979), xv-xvi.

¹⁶ Ibid., 187-8.

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¹⁵ Curtis (1979), xv-xvi.

¹⁶ Ibid., 187-8.

many of which have shorter sections of text either omitted or telescoped, requiring the text to be divided into smaller sections. For ease of reference, the breakdown of the Credo text is given in appendix 13 in volume 2.

English cycles: telescoping in the Credo

Very few cycles, from either repertory shown in appendix 7, appear to have telescoping present. This is unsurprising since both repertories survive mainly in continental sources. There are only six English and four continental Masses that display telescoping. It is on the English cycles that the discussion will first concentrate: the Cox, Tik and anonymous *Sine nomine* Masses (M29, M35 and M62), Frye's *Flos regalis* Mass (M30), Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* Mass (M51) and Bedyngham's *Dueil angoisseux* Mass (M52).

If Curtis's assertion that the Credo must be complete when telescoped is accepted, there are no unambiguous examples. The closest is Cox's *Sine nomine* Mass (M29) which, as has been shown, omits only section 15, otherwise following a pattern of complete telescoping. Indeed, Curtis takes this Mass as an example of telescoping and reconstructs this as a part of his edition of the Brussels Choirbook.¹⁷

Interestingly, Curtis also argues that the other Masses in his 1989 edition were once telescoped and reconstructs them. This is particularly interesting, as only one of them, Frye's *Flos regalis* Mass (M30), appears

¹⁷ *FCLM*, III, 193–4.

to have evidence of telescoping, containing section 17 in an incipit beneath section 12.

The other Masses that Curtis retexts as telescoped Credos all have many lines omitted, as shown in appendix 7.1. In general, these Masses omit the sections between 11 and 20, with some including section 12 and some omitting one or another individual section earlier in the text. In reconstructing these texts, Curtis follows the rules he developed from his analysis of the Old Hall repertory, telescoping text from the beginning of the Mass, as well as from the end. This suggests that, rather than simply omitting the text found in the lower voices of the Mass, the continental scribe has instead entirely retexted the Mass, omitting more lines of text towards the end as he ran out of room.

This suggests that Credos with a large amount of text omitted, especially toward the end of the movement, may perhaps originally have been telescoped. The omission of sections or segments towards the end of the Credo is precisely the phenomenon to which Hannas referred as omissions in the 'post-Nicene articles'.¹⁸ This offers two possible interpretations of text omission towards the end of the Credo. Either it is caused by continental scribal emendation of telescoping, or it is deliberately done for theological reasons.

¹⁸ Hannas (1954), 158.

English cycles – Credo text omission

In general, the English repertoire seems to be consistent in either omitting parts of the text from the Credo, or else telescoping it. There is only one apparently English Mass, even from within this later period, which presents the complete text of the Credo. The Mass in question, the anonymous *Te deum* (M61), has many other elements indicative of continental origin. By contrast, 11 out of the 37 relevant continental Masses do not have any text omissions or telescoping at all.

As demonstrated in appendix 7.1, almost all of the English Masses have six or more full sections of text omitted. There are only six exceptions in the thirty-three relevant English (or supposedly English) cycles. These are *Christus surrexit* (M63); *Quem malignus spiritus* (M6); Philipi's *Hilf und gib rat* (M37); and the anonymous Masses *Sine nomine* (M49); *Thomas cesus* (M52) and *Puisque m'amour* (M57). It is perhaps significant that, of these six Masses, all but *Quem malignus spiritus* (M6) and the anonymous *Sine nomine* (M49) are thought to be continental.

A closer look at these two Masses suggests that even the *Sine nomine* (M49) was very likely originally telescoped. The two surviving versions of this Mass display radically different texting at their duo sections. Strohm has suggested that this is indicative of either omission or telescoping in the exemplar of both scribal copies. He further suggests that section 7 may have been telescoped with 8–9 and sections 10–11

with 12–14.¹⁹ This leaves only *Quem malignus spiritus* with fewer than six sections omitted from the text. The Mass is certainly English, however, so four sections must be considered the smallest number of omission from an English Credo, even if the overwhelming majority omit six.

Most interestingly, those continental Masses with Credo omissions usually omit three or four sections from around sections 12–16 – precisely those which Hannas notes as being theologically contentious. It is perhaps significant that the nominally English anonymous *Thomas cesus* Mass (M52) follows this trend exactly, apparently conforming more readily to continental norms.

Continental cycles: Credo text omission

In contrast to the English repertory, very few continental Masses (six of thirty-seven) omit six or more sections of text (appendix 7.2). These are as follows: the anonymous *Wünslichen schön* Mass (CM10), the anonymous *Sine nomine* Masses CM15 and CM37; the anonymous Tr88 and Tr89 *Le serviteur* Masses CM22 and CM29 and Bassere's *Sine nomine* (CM33). Further, Tourout's *Monyel* Mass (CM31) omits just five sections and one part of a section, and the anonymous *Sine nomine* (CM16) omits five sections. This degree of text omission is clearly unusual in the continental repertoire.

Due to the unusual degree of text omission in the above-mentioned continental cycles, it is worth discussing each in some detail. The

¹⁹ *FCLM*, VI, 99.

Wünslichen schön Mass (CM10) seems particularly strange. Whilst there clearly is sufficient room in the discantus of this Mass to have supplied the sections 4c, 8 and 9b, it seems an absolute impossibility to fit sections 10–20.

The strangest aspect of this Mass is the omission of the Amen, occurring in only one other Mass in either repertory, the anonymous *Sancta maria virgo* Mass (M48), which clearly lacks the end of its Credo. Significantly, both Masses have the text from the tenth section omitted, precisely the point at which the second opening of the Credo of *Sancta maria virgo* (M48) finishes.²⁰ This suggests that a folio was missing from the exemplar of the *Wünslichen schön* Mass (CM10), too. In support of this, the Credo, so often the longest movement in a continental cycle is the second shortest movement here. This would not be the only damaged movement of the cycle, as the Agnus is clearly badly damaged.

In favour of this being a compositional choice, rather than due to damage, the Credo of this Mass follows the same mensural scheme as the Gloria. If this were an English cycle, this would be suggestive of the movement surviving intact, since mensural schemes were generally strictly applied across all movements. As will be shown in **5.4**, however, continental cycles do not apply mensural schemes so strictly and the Credo often has many more mensural changes than other movements.

²⁰ The discussion of the *Sancta maria virgo* Mass (M48) above raises an important point. If the last half of the Credo of this cycle is missing, then it appears that there is actually no text at all omitted from the surviving part of this movement. Whilst the most common points for text omission do appear to be later in the text, an English Credo would usually have some text omitted before section 10.

The evidence of the shared mensural scheme for the Gloria and Credo can therefore be read in two ways. If this Mass is English, then it seems likely that there is no music omitted. If it is continental, then it seems likely that there was damage to the source's exemplar.

Overall, it seems unlikely in the extreme that this Mass would have had this degree of textual omission as a compositional choice. It seems either indicative of a scribal attempt to deal with extreme telescoping or of damage to the manuscript. As will be shown below, there is little to suggest English provenance for this Mass and therefore manuscript damage seems more likely.

The Tr89 *Sine nomine* Mass (CM37) is another unusual example since the scribe stopped copying the underlay between section 9b and section 17, leaving much untexted music between. At first glance, this seems to discount this text omission being the vestiges of a telescoped Credo. However, the underlay, where present, is extraordinarily syllabic, packing as much text as possible into a short space and it may well not be possible to fit all of the missing text into the untexted portion of this Mass. It seems most likely that the exemplar of this Mass displayed either telescoping or text omission. The scribe, having attempted to re-text fully, eventually broke off copying the text, beginning again only with the incipit at the start of a new section.

The anonymous *Sine nomine* Mass in SPB80 (CM15) is particularly interesting as it has a clear vestige of telescoping and significant text omission. The Mass makes a good direct comparison with the apparently

telescoped Masses in the Brussels nucleus. In these, sections 3, 4 and 5 often appeared in the lowest voices, telescoped against the discantus. It seems significant, therefore, that sections 4 and 5 are omitted in the SPB80 *Sine nomine*. Indeed, the majority of English Masses omit one or two sections from this early part of the text. This cycle seems to conform best to what Curtis has termed 'alternate-phrase telescoping', since there appears not to be an undue amount of text removed from the end of the movement.

It could be argued that the text omission employed in the anonymous Tr88 *Le serviteur* Mass (CM22) falls somewhere between that of the *Wünslichen schön* Mass (CM10) and the *Sine nomine* Mass (CM15) discussed above. Whilst there is no evidence of vestiges of telescoping, it seems unlikely that the end of the movement is missing since the Amen is present. Indeed, the text omissions from this movement are remarkably close to both Frye's *Summe trinitati* and *Flos regalis* Masses (M28 and M30), which do not omit lines from earlier in the text. This movement seems an excellent candidate for having once been telescoped.

The Tr89 *Le serviteur* (CM29) is also an excellent candidate for a telescoped work. It omits a very large number of sections from the end of the movement but, like many English telescoped movements, also omits sections 3 and 4. Whilst this *Le serviteur* Mass, in general, conforms well to other continental practices, its relationship through the same model, to the Tr88 *Le serviteur*, a work with many more English features, may be important.

Bassere's *Sine nomine* (CM33) is perhaps the most confusing of all the continental Masses with large amounts of text omitted. The sheer scale of omission, coupled with the omission of the fifth section and several at the end, would seem indicative of the presence of an original telescoped text. Despite this, as will be shown later, the Mass seems to be of fairly unambiguous continental origin, even if nothing certain is known of the composer in question.

As will be shown below, all other continental Masses that may have had telescoped Credos show other other signs of English influence. It is possible that this movement is influenced by English style insofar as the composer either chose to set a telescoped text or directly imitated a continental copy of an English setting, with the sections of text omitted. This possibility raises some questions. If a Mass apparently with no other indicators of English style can have such a high degree of text omission, then it is surely dangerous to rely too heavily on this as an indicator.

The final two Masses with large amounts of text omitted are the anonymous *Sine nomine* (CM16) and Tourout's *Monyel* Mass (CM31). The former seems the more likely candidate for a telescoped text since it omits section 5, as well as several other lines toward the end of the text. This Mass has other elements that may speak for English provenance and it has been suggested that it may be of English origin.²¹ Therefore, this

²¹ *Missa Sine Nomine IV*, Agostino Magro (ed.) <<http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/MessesAnonymes/sources/92.pdf>> see also, Reynolds (1995), 163–71.

Mass seems worthy of further study. The *Monyel* Mass (CM31), by contrast, has little else about it to suggest English provenance.

Continental cycles: telescoping in the Credo

There appear to be four nominally continental Masses that display telescoping. This is much more surprising than the use of text omission. Indeed, Curtis has noted that the practice of compositional rather than scribal text omission may well have begun as a response to the distribution of these scribally amended Masses.²² Therefore, whilst text omission is, by the band II repertoire, not seen as such a good indicator of English provenance, telescoping does still seem to be.

Three of these apparently telescoped continental Masses seem to use true telescoping conforming to Curtis' underlying principles which sets the entire text in the 'alternating-phrase' manner. The most obvious example is the *Du cuer je souspier* Mass (CM32) which, despite the partial texting of the contratenor, clearly follows this pattern. Ockeghem's *Caput* Mass (CM23) is similar since the Tr88 copy gives only text incipits, though clear telescoping survives in the Chigi Codex copy.²³ This Mass structurally follows the earlier English *Caput* Mass in many ways, so the use of telescoping here is not entirely unexpected. As well as the two more obvious examples, the anonymous SPB80 *Sine nomine* Mass (CM15), whilst having surviving telescoping only for one section, seems

²² Curtis (1979), 205–6.

²³ *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 100.

likely to have once followed this form of telescoping. The text omission seems so close to similar English Masses that this must be the most obvious parallel.

The fourth continental Mass, Cornago's *Ayo visto lo mappamundi* (CM9), seems to apply telescoping very differently. There is minimal text omission, with only sections 13, 14 and 15 omitted. These (along with section 16) are those most commonly omitted sections in continental cycles – cycles that, importantly, do not use telescoping. However, section 6 is clearly telescoped below 5. The question that must be asked is whether this is indeed the vestige of an earlier full, telescoped text, or something altogether different. Clearly, even if sections 13, 14 and 15 were originally set in the lower voices, along with section 6, there would be much less telescoping than compared to the other telescoped Masses. Furthermore, Masses that once were telescoped seem, in every instance, to have many more section of texts omitted. Therefore, it seems unlikely in the extreme that this Mass had any (or at least much) more telescoping. This offers a unique example of a Mass that uses telescoping in a single instance, rather than the full-blown technique.

Masses of disputed provenance: telescoping and text omission in the Credo

Finally, the discussion will turn to telescoping and text omission within Masses of disputed provenance, most especially Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51). Whilst this Mass is included within the Curtis and

Wathey handlist, it is ascribed to a continental composer and, as will be shown below, certainly seems to be continental. The Mass has several lines of text omitted, something that is unusual, but not impossible in continental cycles. However, it also has clear telescoping.

Full telescoping occurs in only three nominally continental cycles. An English context for two of these, *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32) and the anonymous *Sine nomine* (CM15) will be argued for below, whilst the third, Ockeghem's *Caput*, is clearly influenced by its English model. The links between Le Rouge and England noted in chapter 1 seem the most likely explanation for the telescoping in this cycle, too.

There are clear parallels with several other cycles included in Curtis and Wathey that are now thought to be of possible continental origin. Perhaps the best examples are the Pullois *Sine nomine* (M33), *Meditatio cordis* (M36), *Rozel im gart'n* (M38), *O rosa bella* (M41) and Simon de Insula's *O admirabile commercium* (M58). Each of these Masses has six sections omitted from the Credo, except for *O rosa bella* (M41), which has seven sections omitted. Whilst none of these Masses has clear vestiges of telescoping, they have much more text omission than usual for a continental Mass. If some, or indeed all, of these Masses are of continental rather than English origin, then it demonstrates that text omission and perhaps telescoping were heavily used in those Masses of continental origin that were demonstrably influenced by English style.

5.2: Mensural changes in the Sanctus

It has been argued that English composers handle the division of some movements of the Mass, particularly the Sanctus, differently than their continental contemporaries. Gareth Curtis and Margaret and Ian Bent have noted the tendency for English composers to divide the Sanctus, through changing mensuration, at around the mid-point of the text rather than the point which makes poetic sense.²⁴ A text division around the mid-point of the text gives the first mensural change before the first *Osanna*, effectively splitting the text into a bipartite form. There are obvious similarities between this, the treatment of the Kyrie discussed in chapter 4, and the handling of the Agnus, as will be shown below – all of which is clearly indebted to the importance of the pre-compositional groundplan.

The initial mensural change

The discussion will begin by considering the degree to which the Sanctus of English Mass cycles conforms to the practice of having the initial mensural change before the first *Osanna* (appendix 8.1 and summarised below).

²⁴ Curtis (1981), 52 and Margaret and Ian Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer — A New Source', *JAMS*, 22 (1969), 409–12.

Position of the initial mensural change in English cycles

Position of initial mensural change	Number of Masses
Before the first <i>Osanna</i>	18
Before the <i>Benedictus</i>	9
Before the <i>Pleni sunt</i>	2
Before the first <i>excelsis</i>	1
Before the second <i>Osanna</i>	1
N/A	4

Whilst the first *Osanna* is indeed the most common point for the division of the Sanctus, it occurs only in slightly more than half of the English Masses studied. Mensural changes before the *Benedictus* are around half as common as after the *Osanna*. The next most common position is before the *Pleni sunt*, whilst one Mass each has the mensural change before the first *excelsis* and the second *Osanna*.

By contrast, the continental Masses (appendix 8.2 and summarised below) have the first mensural change before the first *Osanna* or the *Benedictus*. There are also far more Masses which have the initial mensural change before the *Pleni sunt*, which make up around half as many as before both the *Osanna* and the *Benedictus*. There is also one Mass with the initial mensural change at the *qui venit*.

Position of the initial mensural change in continental cycles

Position of initial mensural change	Number of Masses
Before the first <i>Osanna</i>	14
Before the <i>Benedictus</i>	15
Before the <i>Pleni sunt</i>	6
Before the <i>qui venit</i>	1
N/A	1

Since the initial mensural change occurring before the *Pleni sunt* is so rare in English Masses and relatively frequent in continental cycles, it is worth investigating English cycles that follow this pattern. One of the two nominally English Masses to have the initial mensural change at this point is the continental Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51). The other is the anonymous *Te deum* Mass (M61). This is highly suggestive of the *Te deum* Mass not being English, especially given the other non-standard elements mentioned in this chapter.

Two further Masses have apparently unusual positions for their mensural change, *Veni creator spiritus* (M39) which has the initial change after the second *Osanna* and Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) which has it following the first *excelsis*. Since the beginning of the *Osanna* of *Veni creator spiritus* is missing, it is uncertain as to where the initial mensural change falls. The Mass is, however, anomalous in many other ways, not all of which could be caused by manuscript damage. Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15), however, suffers from no such damage. Whilst the Mass is securely attributed to the English composer Bedyngham, this is not its only non-standard element.

The remaining positions for initial mensural changes, before the *Osanna* or the *Benedictus*, are relatively common to both English and continental cycles. Due to this, the discussion will progress to considering the position of the remaining mensural changes.

The position of further mensural changes

The most common position for the second mensural change in English Mass cycles (appendix 8.2 and summarised below) appears to be before the second *Osanna*. Almost all of the Masses have the second mensural change in this position. Two have the mensural change before the *Benedictus* and one each before the first *Osanna* and at the line *qui venit*.

The positioning of the second mensural change in English cycles

Position of second mensural change	Number of Masses
Before the second <i>Osanna</i>	13
Before the <i>Benedictus</i>	2
Before the <i>qui venit</i>	1
Before the first <i>Osanna</i>	1

Within the continental comparands (appendix 8.2 and summarised below), the second *Osanna* is also the most common position. There are also several Masses with the mensural change before the *Benedictus* and the first *Osanna*. This suggests that the two English Masses to follow these trends may actually be continental. The two Masses with the mensural change before the *Benedictus* are Bedyngham’s *Sine nomine* (M15) and *Te deum* (M61). Both of these Masses are unusual in many other ways, including the position of the first mensural change. The Mass with the second mensural change before the first *Osanna* is the continental Le Rouge’s *So ys emprentid* (M51).

The positioning of the second mensural change in continental cycles

Position of second mensural change	Number of Masses
Before the first <i>Osanna</i>	5
Before the second <i>Osanna</i>	14
Before the <i>Benedictus</i>	4

Interestingly, the only Mass within either repertory with the second mensural change before the line *qui venit* is the Pullois Mass (M33). This Mass is very unusual. Despite having been accorded English provenance by Gareth Curtis,²⁵ it is now generally believed to be continental. It seems the question of its provenance may be more complex than this – a suggestion supported by its failure to follow the norms for either repertory.

So far, the positioning of the first and second mensural changes has been discussed. Those cycles that have more changes will now be considered. The very existence of more than two mensural changes in the Sanctus appears to argue against English provenance. Indeed, only two apparently English Masses have three changes, and one has four (see appendix 8.1). In comparison, there are eight continental Masses with three mensural changes and four with four (see appendix 8.2). Continental Masses commonly have the third mensural change before the *Benedictus* or before the second *Osanna*. In comparison, Bedyngham's extremely unusual *Sine nomine* (M15) also has the mensural change after

²⁵ Curtis (1981).

the second *Osanna*, whereas the Pullois Mass (M33) again follows its own direction, having the mensural change before *Domini*.

The four continental cycles with four mensural changes have them at the second *Osanna*, whereas Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) has it before the second *in excelsis*.

5.3: Mensural changes in the Agnus Dei

Just as with the Kyrie and the Sanctus, the tripartite poetic text of the Agnus is often given a bipartite musical form by English composers. Indeed, Gareth Curtis has noted that the division of the text in English works generally takes place before invocation 3 with, perhaps, a further division before the *Dona nobis pacem*.²⁶ As will be shown below, English and continental composers do indeed take a different approach to the structural division of this text.

The initial mensural change

In comparison to the many different positions for the initial mensural change within the Sanctus, there are actually only four possible in the Agnus. The initial mensural change always occurs at the second *Agnus*, the second *miserere*, the third *Agnus*, or the *qui tollis*. This is essentially only three different positions for the mensural change as the Mass that

²⁶ Gareth Curtis, 'Musical Design and the Rise of the Cyclic Mass' in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, Tess Knighton and David Fallows (eds.) (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 156.

has the mensural change occurring at the *qui tollis* only does so due to *Agnus Dei* being given as chant.

Again, there are clear trends. As shown in appendix 9.1 and summarised below, the majority of English Mass cycles have their initial change at the third *Agnus* and around half as many have it at the second *miserere* or the second *Agnus*. The continental Mass cycles (appendix 9.2 and summarised below) are in absolute contrast to this. The majority of continental Masses have their initial change at the second *Agnus*, with just three occurring at the third *Agnus*, one at the third *qui tollis* and one at the second *miserere*. If those Masses of disputed provenance are considered, then the contrasts are even starker.

Initial mensural changes in the English cycles

Position of the initial mensural change	Number of Masses
Before the third <i>Agnus</i>	17
Before the second <i>Agnus</i>	6
Before the second <i>miserere</i>	4

Initial mensural changes in the continental cycles

Position of the initial mensural change	Number of Masses
Before the second <i>Agnus</i>	27
Before the third <i>Agnus</i>	3
Before the second <i>miserere</i>	1
Before the third <i>qui tollis</i>	1

Clearly, the most common position for the initial mensural change in continental Masses is before the second *Agnus Dei*. This is comparatively rare in English Masses. Most interestingly, of the six English cycles with

the mensural change in this position, three are almost certainly continental and consistently follow continental compositional trends, Pullois' *Sine nomine* (M33), Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51) and *Te deum* (M61). Two more of the Masses, *Meditatio cordis* (M36) and Philipi's *Hilf und gib rat* (M37) are of similarly questionable origin and display many continental elements. Further to this, they seem likely to be true six-movement Mass-motet cycles, a genre for which there appear to be no surviving English examples. Yet again, this leaves only *Veni creator spiritus* (M39) as a nominally English cycle with the mensural change in this position. This Mass seems increasingly unlikely to be English. In general, regardless of the provenance of *Veni creator spiritus*, the first mensural change occurring before the second *Agnus* may well be an indicator of continental origin.

It seems that the initial mensural change occurring before the second *miserere* is comparatively rare in both repertories but rarer in the continental repertory. Three of the four English Masses with their mensural change at this point seem to be of certain English provenance. The fourth, *Rozel im gart'n* (M38), is now generally believed to be continental.

Most interestingly, the only continental Mass with the initial mensural change in this position is *Grüne linden* (CM24). As both *Rozel im gart'n* and *Grüne linden* are based on German *cantus firmi*, it may be suggestive of German Masses following the English patterns.

The initial mensural change occurring before the third *Agnus Dei* is significantly more common in the English repertory, occurring seventeen times here, compared to three times in continental Masses. Each of the three continental cycles to follow the English pattern seems linked to England in some way. *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32) seems to follow English norms in almost everything and is surely an excellent candidate for English provenance. The Tr88 *Le serviteur* Mass (CM22), likewise, appears to have at least a degree of English influence, showing numerous English traits, and may well be a candidate for English provenance itself. Finally, Ockeghem's *Caput* Mass (CM23), whilst clearly not English, owes a huge debt to the English *Caput* Mass on which it is based. This indicator therefore seems an excellent marker of English provenance or extremely strong English influence.

The second mensural change

The position of the second mensural change in the *Agnus Dei*, where present, appears to be a good indicator of provenance too. The strongest trends are in the continental repertory (appendix 9.2), where all but one Mass has the second mensural change before the third *Agnus dei*. The single Mass not to do so, Caron's *L'homme armé* (CM14) has the mensural change at the point most common in English Mass cycles (appendix 9.1), the *dona nobis*. This Mass, in general, conforms to continental practices.

The most common position for the second mensural change in English Masses is the *dona nobis*. Only slightly less frequent is a change at the third *Agnus*. However, since this position is overwhelmingly the norm for continental Masses those nominally English Masses that conform to this pattern should be further examined. These include the usual suspects, Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51) and *Te deum* (M61), the Pullois Mass (M33) and *Veni creator spiritus* (M39).

A final point to note regards the *Rozel im gart'n* Mass (M58). Whilst this is now thought by many to be of continental origin and, as demonstrated in this chapter, has many indicators of this, it does still have the second mensural change at the position of the *dona nobis*, which is exceptionally rare in continental cycles.

There is only one Mass in either repertoire that has more than two mensural changes in this movement, *Veni creator spiritus* (M39) – yet another apparent abnormality in an extremely unusual Mass.

5.4: Mensural schemes

The application of particular mensural schemes is another possible indicator of English provenance.²⁷ Moreover, particular successions of mensurations are noted as English, such as OC or OCO.²⁸ However, it is clear that continental composers began to apply these common mensural

²⁷ Curtis (1981), 51.

²⁸ Hamm (1968), 60.

schemes to their own Mass cycles.²⁹ By considering the relative strictness of mensural schemes across the two repertoires, the degree to which the use of strict mensural schemes became used on the continent can better be assessed.

English cycles

The degree to which the English cycles conform to strict mensural groundplans is discussed at length in chapter 3 and a short summary of the English cycles will suffice here. As shown in appendix 10.1, twenty-three of the Masses have an absolutely strict mensural scheme, eight of the Masses have a difference in only one movement, three have a change in at least two movements, and one appears not to demonstrate a mensural scheme.

The vast majority of cycles that have any departure from their mensural scheme are those of disputed provenance. Only five securely English Masses depart from a mensural scheme in any way. These are the Bedyngham, Cox and Tik *Sine nomine* Masses (M15, M29 and M35), Standley's *Ad fugam* Mass (M59) and the anonymous *Sine nomine* attributed to Plummer (M62). Unlike those Masses of disputed provenance, each of these Masses departs from its textural scheme in only a single movement. For the vast majority, the movement that departs from the mensural scheme is the Agnus Dei, as was so common in band Ia cycles. The only cycles that depart in other movements are

²⁹ See Ockeghem's *Caput* Mass (CM23) or Du Fay's *Ave regina* Mass (CM3).

Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15), which has an additional mensural change in the Sanctus, and the Standley *Ad fugam* Mass (M59) which has one mensural change fewer in the Kyrie. Each of the Masses of disputed origin departs from its mensural scheme in a movement other than the Agnus.

Continental cycles

If the vast majority of apparently English Masses are absolutely strict in their conformity to mensural groundplans, then the continental comparands are the opposite (appendix 10.2). Only five of these Masses display a strict mensural groundplan (one of which does so by avoiding any mensural change), six depart in a single movement, twenty-four in two or more movements, and two Masses appear not to have a mensural plan.

Clearly, it makes good sense to investigate those Masses that conform more closely to a strict mensural scheme. The five Masses that are absolutely strict are the SPB80 *Sine nomine* (CM15), the Tr88 *Le serviteur* (CM22), Tourout's *Monyel* (CM31), *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32) and Caron's *Clemens et benigna* (CM36). Interestingly, three of these five Masses have other indicators of possible English provenance or influence.

The SPB80 *Sine nomine* and Tr88 *Le serviteur* Mass (CM15 and CM22) both conform to a strict mensural plan in each movement with identical mensuration in each voice. *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32), whilst conforming to an identical mensural scheme in each movement, is slightly

unusual in that the tenor has a mensuration of C against the prevailing mensuration of O at the beginning of each movement. This occurs in no securely attributed English band II Masses but, importantly, no continental Masses either. Indeed, if anything, the mensural handling of this Mass appears more reminiscent of band Ia mensural schemes, as discussed in chapter 3.³⁰

The two remaining Masses are Tourout's *Monyel* (CM31) and Caron's *Clemens et beninga* (CM36) which do not appear to have any other unusual features. It is hard to determine whether the *Monyel* (CM31) should even be considered as conforming to a strict mensural scheme, since it has only a single mensuration throughout, similar to Frye's *Summe trinitati*. Both *Monyel* and *Clemens et benigna* seem to be of certain continental provenance, suggesting that the application of strict mensural schemes did indeed begin to have currency on the continent later in the century.

The six Masses that depart from the prevailing mensural scheme in one movement are: Du Fay's *Ave regina* (CM3), Tourout's *Sine nomine* (CM8), Barbingant's *Terribliment* (CM12), the anonymous *Se la face ay pale* (CM21), Ockeghem's *Caput* (CM23) and the anonymous *Quant che vendra* (CM34). Du Fay's *Ave regina* (CM3) is interesting in that it corresponds to a two-mensuration scheme in every movement, but uses a

³⁰ In terms of mensural handling, the closest surviving analogy is clearly Power's *Alma redemptoris mater* (M43) which, apart from being for three voices, rather than four, has exactly the same mensural handling. *Requiem eternam* (M16) seems likely to have once been even closer with precisely the same mensural handling and number of voices.

three-mensuration scheme in the Kyrie. It is regular in every other respect and securely attributed to Du Fay. This same pattern occurs in Ockeghem's *Caput* Mass (CM23), another securely attributed continental Mass – though one that is obviously heavily indebted to its English model.

Tourout's *Sine nomine* (CM8), likewise, has little to suggest that it is anything other than a continental Mass. It is securely attributed to Tourout and has additional mensural changes in the Credo that, as in most continental Masses, is rather long. This Mass survives in a somewhat fragmentary state and may have originally departed from the mensural scheme in the other movements too.

Quant che vendra (CM34) also has additional mensural changes in the Credo. Finally, both Barbingant's *Terribliment* (CM12) and the anonymous *Se le face ay pale* (CM21) follow a three-mensuration pattern in every movement but the Sanctus, which has only two mensurations. Each of these Masses appears to be securely continental.

Ockeghem's *Caput* (CM23), based on an English model, has clear connections with England. It has been postulated that Ockeghem had access only to the English *Caput* without the Kyrie and copied the mensural scheme only for the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei accordingly.³¹ It makes sense, therefore, for this Mass to depart from the mensural scheme in only this movement. This seems further to suggest that Du Fay's *Ave regina* Mass (CM3) may also be influenced by, or

³¹ This argument is clearly summarised in Alejandro Planchart, 'Guillaume Dufay's Masses: Notes and Revisions', *TMQ*, 58 (1972), 2.

perhaps directly modelled on, the same version of the English *Caput* Mass.

The other Masses to depart from mensural schemes in different movements do so in a manner that is utterly different from English cycles. In most cases, the English cycles are altered in the Agnus Dei. Other than the case of Du Fay's *Ave regina* and Ockeghem's *Caput* Masses, which appear to have been based on an English model missing its Kyrie, the continental Masses appear either to shorten the Sanctus or lengthen the Credo, something which does not occur in similar English Masses. It therefore seems that the SPB80 *Sine nomine* (CM15), the Tr88 *Le serviteur* (CM22) and *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32) are closest to English practice.

5.5: Textural groundplans

In chapter 3, the degree to which textural groundplans became important within the band II repertoire was demonstrated. Indeed, it seems clear that, from the earlier bischematic textural ground plans, there developed more strict single schemas that governed every movement of a cycle. There is no need to reproduce in detail the findings reported in chapter 3, but they will be briefly summarised in order to compare them with the continental comparands.

English cycles

Thirty-three of the thirty-six English cycles display some form of textural groundplan. The strictest form is utilised in just four cycles (two of which may have been less strict but have had departures obscured by manuscript damage). Minimal departures occur in eleven cycles whilst seven present a textural plan only for the opening of movements and key structural points. Finally, seven cycles appear to present bischematic textural plans of differing degrees of strictness.

As discussed in chapter 3, the use of a bischematic textural *schema* is much rarer in the band II repertoire than it is in band Ia and some band Ib cycles but it may also be indicative of continental influence or provenance. Those English cycles that utilise these kinds of textural plan will therefore be commented upon before the continental comparands are discussed.

Within the band II repertoire, there are no cycles that correspond strictly to a bischematic textural plan, in the manner of the band Ib Mass *Fuit homo missus* (M56) (appendix 11.1). Further, only two English cycles correspond to a bischematic textural plan with only minor departures. Tik's *Sine nomine* (M35) has bischematic textural planning in the opening section and Frye's *Flos regalis* (M30) has contrasting textural schemes in second section.

Tik's *Sine nomine* is generally thought to be of undisputed English provenance. Whilst he is still believed to be English, he is now known to have been active on the continent. Strohm first noted that Tik may have

once been resident in Bruges and was perhaps related to Jacobus Tik, *succentor* at St Jacob in Bruges in 1463.³² Tik was also mentioned in a Spanish treaty of 1480.³³ More recently, it has become known that Tik was actually living and working in Seville in Spain,³⁴ confirming his activity on the continent.

Tik's *Sine nomine* has a bischematic textural plan for the Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus pairs, but the Kyrie conforms to neither of these textural plans. This is precisely the same configuration as is found in the anonymous SPB80 *Sine nomine* (CM15), as will be discussed below. Indeed, the only other Mass to have a bischematic textural plan which departs only slightly from a strict pattern is also continental, Faugues' *Le serviteur* (CM29). In this case, however, the Kyrie follows the same pattern as that found in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei.

Finally, Frye's *Flos regalis* (M30) is very clearly English. However, it is also very clearly not an early Mass cycle – a fact borne out by its style and manuscript distribution (see chapter 3). On the other hand, the possibility of a continental sojourn for Frye has already been raised. However, unlike the case of Tik, there is no concrete evidence for this.

Five nominally English cycles apply a bischematic textural plan at structural points, though only one of these is a securely English cycle. The single securely English Mass is Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15). This

³² Strohm (1985), 123.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Juan Ruiz Jiménez, 'The Sounds of The Hollow Mountain': Musical Tradition and Innovation in Seville Cathedral in the Early Renaissance', *EMH*, 29 (2010), 216–7.

Mass treats the Kyrie and Agnus Dei with the same textural plan and the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus with another. This is particularly interesting as it clearly differs from the kind of bischematic approach generally used in the band Ia and Ib repertoire. Indeed, this Mass has demonstrated several other unusual traits.

Bedyngham, like Tik, may have once been active on the continent. Gerber has suggested, citing Lockwood, the identification of Bedyngham with 'Johannes quondam alterius Johannis presbyter Londoni' in Ferrara in 1448 and notes that the style of both of Bedyngham's works within Tr88 agrees with the Ferrarese date.³⁵ Perhaps this explains the several continental traits of the *Sine nomine* Mass (M15) and the choice of a continental song on which to base the *Dueil angoisseux* Mass (M54).³⁶ It is important to note, however, that this latter cycle has no evidence of continental influence other than the choice of model.

Like Bedyngham's *Sine nomine*, *Thomas cesus* (M52) also links the Kyrie-Agnus and Gloria-Credo-Sanctus. Unusually, the application of the textural scheme is at odds with that of the mensural scheme. Whilst the Kyrie and Agnus Dei are linked by textural scheme, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei are linked by mensural groundplan. The only other Mass cycle in either repertory to follow this format for the textural plan (i.e. KA-GCS) is *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32), which is clearly an excellent candidate for possible English origin. Perhaps the otherwise unique way in which these

³⁵ *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 20–1.

³⁶ It may be significant that this is the only English cycle to utilise a continental model such as this.

three Masses utilise this particular textural scheme is indicative of a link between the Masses.

Finally, the three remaining cycles to utilise bischematicism only at structural points are *Meditatio cordis* (M36), Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* (M51), and Simon de Insula's *O admirabile commercium* (M58). All three of these cycles are quite probably continental and link the Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus separately. One nominally continental cycle matches this pattern, the anonymous *Sine nomine* in SPB80 (CM16). This places almost every example of bischematic textural groundplans in Mass cycles that appear to fall, in some way, in between the two repertory groups.

Continental cycles

Whilst four English cycles follow strict textural plans, no continental cycles do so. Similarly, compared to eleven English cycles with only minor departures, only three of the continental cycles are as strict. These are Du Fay's *Ecce ancilla domini* (CM1), the Tr89 *Le serviteur* (CM29) and the Tr89 *Sine nomine* (CM31) (see appendix 11.2). Whilst these Masses depart in only small ways from their prevailing schemes, they generally do so to a greater degree than their English comparands.

Both *Ecce ancilla domini* (CM1) and *Le serviteur* (CM29) follow much the same succession of duet and full-voice sections in the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus with some movements having additional duets. Neither of the Kyries of these Masses follows this pattern, however. Interestingly, in both Masses, there is a closer affinity between the Gloria

and Credo and the Sanctus and Agnus as separately paired movements. Despite this, there is not a real sense of bischematicism, as demonstrated in some of the band Ia and Ib repertoire.

The Tr89 *Sine nomine* (CM31) also follows a broadly similar succession of duet and full-voice sections. It is harder to judge how well this Mass conforms to a textural *schema*, though, since the lack of mensural changes precludes analysis of the use of textural schemes to reinforce mensural changes.

If those Masses that present a textural groundplan only at key structural points are compared, there are ten continental cycles, compared to seven English ones. Perhaps this is testament to the enduring legacy of the *Caput* Mass on the continent. Indeed, two of the continental cycles follow this form of textural planning only in the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. This seems understandable, given the belief that a version of the *Caput* Mass circulated without the Kyrie, something that was argued above to have been plausibly responsible for some continental mensural schemes. Indeed, one of the Masses to display this form of textural plan also followed the relevant mensural plan – Ockeghem's *Caput* (CM23). The other Mass to follow this plan is Caron's *Clemens et benigna* (CM36), one of the very few continental Masses to adhere to a strict mensural groundplan in every movement.

5.6: Size and scale

As noted in the introduction, fifteenth-century English composers appear to have begun to privilege musical over textual concerns, forcing tripartite texts, such as the Kyrie and Agnus, into bipartite musical forms and telescoping the text of other movements. The addition of prosula texts to the Kyrie and telescoping of the Credo appears to be part of a conscious effort to bring equality to the length of all movements. Rather than a privileging of the musical over the liturgical, this developed out of desire for liturgical particularisation and the consequent application of a pre-compositional groundplan. Quite apart from this, it appears to have developed into an aesthetic concern of its own. The data collected below clearly supports this general description.

The following data is calculated in the same way as for the Kyrie structure and proportion in chapter 4, utilising the *semibrevis* as the unit of measurement. Counts given for movements with large sections missing are preceded by *. Those with smaller sections missing for which it is possible to give a reasonably accurate estimate of length are preceded by ?. The length of each movement of English cycles is given in appendix 12.1, with this information used in appendix 12.2 to give the length of each movement as a percentage of the largest movement.

Complete English Masses with prosula Kyries have movements of remarkably similar length. As argued in chapter three, *Salve sancta parens* (M21) appears to have been an early and extreme version of the Mass cycle, taking the concept of equality between movements to the

absolute extreme. Whilst none of the band II English Masses approaches this, most have relatively equal-length movements. The shortest movement in these cycles, most often the Agnus Dei, averages around 77% of the largest movement in the cycle.

Those Masses that are complete apart from their Kyries, which are generally assumed to have been removed through scribal emendation, also have relatively equal movements. The smallest movement in these cycles averages around 62% of the largest movement. Two Masses appear to have drastically smaller movements which, if removed, gives an average length of 68%, much closer to that for prosula Kyries. Most interestingly, the Masses with unusually short movements are *Meditatio cordis* (M36) and Simon de Insula's *O admirabile commercium* (M58), which are unlikely to be English. These Masses have very short movements regardless of whether C or ¢ is taken as the correct mensuration.

The shortest movement in English Masses with prosula Kyries is generally the Agnus Dei, which, whilst being the shortest movement, remains relatively long. The one exception is the anonymous *Sine nomine* dubbed 'Two Kyries' (M50), which has an extremely short Agnus Dei. It has been suggested that this Mass may be missing part of the Agnus Dei,³⁷ something clearly supported by this data.

If the Masses with prosula Kyries and without surviving Kyries are compared to the Masses with non-prosula Kyries, there are clear

³⁷ Kirkman (1994), 182–9.

differences. Whilst the former group often have the Agnus Dei as the shortest movement, the non-prosula Kyries generally have the Kyrie as the shortest movement. Indeed, the Kyries of these Masses seem very much shorter than the other four movements, which are all relatively close in size. There are only three Masses not to follow this trend. The Pullois and *Te deum* Masses, which are unlikely to be English, both have shorter Agnus dei movements, though the latter has one that is almost commensurate with the Kyrie. As will be shown below, short settings of the Agnus Dei are a feature of continental cycles. Finally, Standley's *Sine nomine* (M34) has an Agnus that is very much shorter than the other movements. Crucially, it has been suggested that this movement may have been partially removed.³⁸ This seems extremely likely to be the case.

In comparison to the English Masses, the continental comparands (appendices 12.3 and 12.4) seem much less preoccupied with balance. Both the Kyrie and Agnus Dei seem to be very short in these Masses but the size of the Agnus Dei in particular is drastically shorter than would be expected in the English repertory. In English Masses the movement averages 65% of the largest movement, whilst in the continental repertory it averages only 57%.

Several nominally continental Masses have larger settings of the Agnus Dei, more in keeping with the English repertoire. In particular, that of *Du cuer je souspier* (CM32) is 76% of the largest movement. Further,

³⁸ Snow (1968), 84.

the Kyrie and Agnus are of identical length, as are the middle three movements – features that are somewhat reminiscent of the *Salve sancta parens* (M21).

Caron's *L'homme armé* (CM14) has an Agnus Dei which is the largest movement of the cycle. However, it does not have relative equality for all movements as the Credo is very short. There are a total of nine continental cycles with an Agnus Dei that is 60% or more of the largest movement and which display relative equality in others movements. These are Ockeghem's *Pour quelque paine* (CM2), the SPB80 *Sine nomine* (CM16), *Pour l'amour d'une* (CM18), the Tr88 *Le serviteur* (CM22), *Esclave puist il devenir* (CM25), *Gross sehnem* (CM27) the anonymous Tr89 *Sine nomine* (CM31) and Bassere's *Sine nomine* (CM33). The Mass *Au chant de l'alouette* has a long Agnus but a particularly short Gloria. Clearly, relative equality in movement length came to be something practised on the continent in the later fifteenth century too.

A final point regarding the relative size of the movements is that *O rosa bella* (CM35) again appears to correspond to the expected norms for continental Masses, despite the unusual prosula that it carries and the English provenance of its model.

5.7: Conclusions

Chapters 4 and 5 have outlined many clear differences in the English and continental repertoires as manifested in different textural, compositional and also pre-compositional features. In many cases, these trends appear

to have confirmed the provenance of the Masses in question. However, some Masses of seemingly English provenance may now appear to be closer to the trends for continental Masses, and *vice versa*. To conclude, the findings from above will now be summarised, enabling a redefinition of the current repertorial groupings of the Masses. As discussed earlier, those Masses that seem to be the product either of an English composer working on the continent or of a continental composer heavily influenced by English style are also indicated.

Those Masses that have already had their provenance questioned in previous scholarship will be discussed first.

M33 – Pullois' *Sine nomine*

This Mass seems to be an amalgamation of influences and elements from both the English and the continental repertory. The Kyrie seems too long to be a non-prosula movement, but is still shorter than a prosula Kyrie. The mensural changes occur in the position of a non-prosula movement and indeed the internal structure perhaps better fits this, though with the later sections being, unusually, slightly longer.

The Mass omits many lines of Credo text, conforming better to English practice, despite the lack of evidence of telescoping. It also has relative equality in movement proportions. Despite this, it clearly follows continental practice in many other respects. The mensural changes in the Agnus Dei both appear in the position expected in continental cycles, and the avoidance of a textural groundplan is very continental. This cycle also

follows a mensural scheme in all but one movement. If this movement were the Agnus, it would represent a common feature of English cycles. However, the fact that it is the Sanctus is clearly indicative of continental practice.

Perhaps the strangest element of this Mass is the placement of the second and third mensural changes in the Sanctus. This occurs at positions not found elsewhere in either repertoire group. Given the balance of the evidence, it appears that this Mass has to be placed within a middle group, having arguably been written by a continental composer but having been influenced by English style. It seems to be the earliest continental Mass demonstrating discoverable English influence, copied well before English practice became common in the continental repertory (Tr87).

Rob Wegman has noted that many of the continental cycles that display English features were written in the region of Antwerp. These cycles often display English features that are absolutely exceptional in the continental repertory, such as the telescoping of Credos. He further notes that the use of the 'English figure'³⁹ in coloration appears to have enjoyed a brief vogue through the 1440s and 1450s.⁴⁰ The Pullois Mass clearly fits this pattern. It is not English, but can be understood only in an English context. As discussed in chapter 1, the English Merchant Adventurers kept

³⁹ For a full description of the 'English figure', see p.299 of the present thesis.

⁴⁰ Rob Wegman, 'Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Antoine Busnoys' in *Antoine Busnoys: Method Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music*, Paula Higgins (ed.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 191 and 201–3.

a chapel in Antwerp, even before the rather more famous example in Bruges. The most likely explanation for the explosion of English-type continental works in this area of the Low Countries is that they were written for this chapel, or heavily indebted to the English compositions that were.

M36 – *Meditatio cordis*

Meditatio cordis (M36) is another cycle now thought to be of continental origin. The above results support this suggestion, while again suggesting some degree of English influence. It seems that this Mass was once a six-movement Mass-motet cycle, rather than a 'normal' cycle with a contrafact Kyrie. Not only does this remove a key argument for its English origin, but also the fact that there are no unambiguously English Mass-motet cycles is strongly supportive of continental origin.

In favour of English origin is the large amount of text omission in the Credo (though there is no evidence of telescoping) and the application of a strict mensural plan. In contrast to this, the Mass follows the usual continental placement of mensural changes within the Agnus Dei, a movement that is far too short for the English repertory. The evidence presented by the mensural changes in the Sanctus is completely neutral. Most interestingly, it is one of a number of Masses of disputed origin to exhibit a bischematic textural groundplan. Despite this, the additional departures from the textural plan in the Agnus Dei do seem to provide some degree of support for continental origin. In general, this Mass

M51 – Guillaume Le Rouge’s *So ys emprentid*

Le Rouge’s *So ys emprentid*, ascribed and securely attributed to a continental composer,⁴¹ is perhaps the most clearly continental of the Masses in the Curtis/Wathey handlist. The evidence presented in this thesis certainly supports this view. The Mass is clearly a true six-movement Mass-motet cycle. It also conforms to continental practice in terms of the mensural divisions in the Sanctus and Agnus, and in the overall application of the mensural scheme, as well as the relatively short Agnus. Despite these clearly continental elements, other features are indicative of very clear English influence. Like many other English-influenced Masses, it omits many lines of Credo text and also (far more significantly) displays clear telescoping.

Importantly, like many other Masses of disputed (or ambiguous) provenance, it conforms to a bischematic textural groundplan. This is again a good example of a Mass which, while clearly not English, can be understood only in an English context. The handling of the text of the Credo is an obviously direct response to English practice, as is the setting of the motet text *Stella celi*. Indeed, the circumstances surrounding this influence are quite clear given that the composer of this Mass worked for Charles d’Orléans who, as discussed in chapter 1, spent a great deal of time as a prisoner in England.

⁴¹ This said, the ascription to Le Rouge is found only in Tr90. The SPB80 copy, perhaps unsurprisingly, is unascribed.

M52 – *Thomas cesus*

Thomas cesus is an extremely interesting work and one that will form the basis of its own case study in chapter 6. For now, the evidence presented above will be summarised. Whilst the Mass is generally accepted as English, Kirkman has more recently argued against this.⁴² The evidence presented above seems indeed to be suggestive of a continental origin, but with significant English influence. The internal ratios of the Kyrie section suggest that this Mass was composed using C , a mensuration not used in England, and the more general application of the broader mensural scheme is also continental in character. The number and position of the sections omitted in the Credo seems much closer to continental than English practice. Whilst the evidence presented by the Sanctus is inconclusive, the mensural division in the Agnus Dei is actually more usual in the English repertory.

The textural groundplan of this Mass is bischematic, an element that is seemingly shared by Masses which blur the lines between the two repertoire groups.

M57 – *Puisque m'amour*

Puisque m'amour seems clearly to be a continental Mass. Indeed, there seem to be no good indicators of English style within this work, at least so far as the key elements discussed in this chapter are concerned. The cycle omits far too few segments of the Credo text and displays no mensural

⁴² Private correspondence with Andrew Kirkman.

scheme. The Sanctus has its mensural changes in a neutral position, while the Agnus does not survive. Although there do seem to be minimal departures from the textural scheme (usually a good indicator of English influence) the somewhat chaotic mensural plan makes it hard to judge just how exact this is.

M58 – Simon de Insula’s *O admirabile commercium*

O admirabile commercium, like Le Rouge’s *So ys emprentid*, is ascribed and securely attributed to a continental composer. It too has some elements that are indicative of English influence but still more that suggest continental origin. The large degree of text omission in the Credo is very English, even if it lacks telescoping, and so too is the positioning of the mensural changes in the Agnus Dei.

The elements most obviously suggestive of continental provenance are the fact that the single departure from the mensural plan occurs in the Gloria, rather than the Agnus Dei, and the fact that Agnus Dei is particularly short. Most interestingly, this is another Mass with a bischematic textural scheme.

Whilst clearly continental, this Mass again must be understood within an English context. Like the Pullois Mass discussed above, Simon de Insula’s cycle has been noted to have a clear Antwerp context by Wegman, who further notes its use of the ‘English figure’ in coloration.⁴³

⁴³ Wegman (1999), 191 and 201–3.

It seems likely that this is another Mass for, or written through contact with, the English located in this area.

M61 – *Te deum*

Te deum is another cycle generally accorded the status of being an English Mass – a status only recently challenged by Kirkman⁴⁴ and Mitchell.⁴⁵ This Mass seems clearly to be continental and the likelihood of any degree of English influence should probably be challenged.

The internal structure of this Kyrie clearly calls for C , a mensuration not used in England. Further, it is the only apparently English Mass to present the entire Credo text; follows the continental pattern for text division in both the Sanctus and the Agnus; and has a particularly short Agnus Dei. Indeed, the only elements that follow an English pattern are the strictness of the mensural plan and the minimal departures from the textural scheme. However, it is clear that these two elements are some of the most common features, and also the earliest, to become a more general part of the continental repertory.

M63 – *Christus surrexit*

Christus surrexit is now widely accepted to be the work of a continental imitator of English style, but the evidence presented by the structural and textual features of this Mass may be said to point slightly in favour of

⁴⁴ Private correspondence with Andrew Kirkman.

⁴⁵ Private correspondence with Robert Mitchell.

English provenance instead. These indicators are the strict mensural groundplan, the textural groundplan with only minimal departures and the relatively equal size of the surviving three movements.

There are no real indicators of continental provenance in this Mass, since the mensural changes in the Sanctus occur in a position common to both repertoire groups. Since neither the Kyrie nor the Agnus survive, these movements cannot help to determine provenance. Indeed, it may be said that the Kyrie and Agnus are generally the most useful movements when considering the relative size and proportionality of movements within the cycle, so this indicator is not as strong as it could be. Finally, while there are slightly fewer omissions from the Credo text than would be usual in an English Mass, there appear to be slightly more than in most continental Masses – yet another ambiguous indicator.

Overall, the missing movements from this Mass make determining its provenance rather difficult. It does indeed seem to be a Mass either by an English composer working on the continent or else by a continental imitator of English style, as Strohm suggests. However, the former is argued for here, whilst Strohm suggests the latter. Indeed, the thesis that 'a "commissioned work" by an English musician from this area would be a rarity'⁴⁶ – Strohm's main argument against English provenance – is perhaps substantially weakened by the findings of this chapter and the suggestions made in chapter 1.

⁴⁶ Strohm (1989), 82. Translation from German.

As well as those Masses noted by others perhaps not to be of English provenance, there are several which appear to present elements closer to continental practice. The discussion will now turn to these Masses, beginning with those which display the fewest unusual elements.

M29 and M62 – Cox's and Plummer's *Sine nomine* Masses

Both of these Masses follow English trends in almost every way. However, they depart from their mensural schemes in a single movement (the Agnus). Of course, as suggested in chapter 3, this may simply be an indicator either of an earlier date of composition, or perhaps of the influence of earlier works. Indeed, both of these *Sine nomine* Masses depart from their mensural changes at the Agnus Dei, precisely the point which is common in band Ia cycles. Despite this, the voice handling in both cycles is not particularly indicative of either being an early work. In general, both of these cycles seem very likely to be English.

M50 – 'Two-Kyries'

The anonymous *Sine nomine* (M50) appears to conform to English practice in almost every way. Despite this, the Agnus Dei appears to be rather too short. This is most likely the result of the Agnus Dei having been removed, as Kirkman previously suggested.⁴⁷ In conclusion, this Mass is clearly English.

⁴⁷ Kirkman (1994), 182–9.

M30 – Frye's *Flos regalis*

Frye's *Flos regalis* (M30) is clearly English in almost every way, and yet is unusual in having a bischematic textural scheme that unifies the Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus groups as two separate pairs. Interestingly, this occurs only at the point of the first mensural change, rather than at the start of each movement. The application of bischematic textural groundplans has been argued, in chapter 3, to occur in earlier Mass cycles, but this is very clearly a later Mass. Perhaps the application of this textural scheme is a deliberate reference to earlier practice. Alternatively, given the large number of Masses that display elements of both continental and English practice, as well as bischematicism, this could be seen as suggestive of continental influence. This is not impossible given the range of possible connections between the composer and the Burgundian court, as shown in chapter 1. This is very clearly an English Mass, however.

M6 – *Quem malignus spiritus*

Despite corresponding to English practice in most key indicators, *Quem malignus spiritus* – unusually and unexpectedly – has a relatively small amount of text omission in the Credo. This is an unusual and apparently unique case. Bent has further noted that this Mass appears to resist telescoping.⁴⁸ Overall, this Mass seems very clearly to be English and can be understood in no other way. It must therefore stand testament to the

⁴⁸ *FCLM*, II, 176.

danger of relying too heavily on the conformity of Masses to specific technical forms in every particular, without considering overall character and possible context(s), including political, theological and liturgical issues. Perhaps the relatively early date of this Mass may explain this departure from 'normal' practice or perhaps this is simply an example of a composer experimenting with the constraints of the genre.

M15, M34 and M35 – Bedyngham, Standley and Tik's *Sine nomine* Masses

The three *Sine nomine* Masses by Bedyngham, Standley and Tik are perhaps more unusual than the Masses discussed above. Each, despite being nominally English and including several clear indicators of English provenance, still conforms to continental traits in three ways. Both the Standley and Tik Masses depart from strict English norms by breaking the mensural scheme in a single movement and by having less equally sized movements. The Tik Mass also uses a bischematic textural scheme whilst the Standley Mass displays no textural scheme. The Bedyngham Mass is similar, but has more equally sized movements and conforms to the continental pattern of mensural changes in the Sanctus.

As noted above, the application of a bischematic textural plan appears to occur extremely frequently in those Masses that blur the lines between the two repertory groups. Indeed, there is good evidence that this may be the case in these three works.

Since Tik was active on the continent, it should also be questioned whether other English composers who display elements of continental style, and especially bischematic textural groundplans, were also active there. Gerber suggests precisely this for both Bedyngham and Standley.⁴⁹ She further argues that the first two gatherings of Trent 88 (notably including works by Bedyngham and Standley, alongside those by Dunstaple and some Italian composers) contain music transmitted along Italian vectors. She notes that Dunstaple's works may have been present in Tr88 since his patrons had many connections to the Italian humanists and the court of Ferrara and that Bedyngham and Standley may have been present in Italy themselves.⁵⁰ It may be significant, therefore, that all three composers have been linked, to greater or lesser extents, to the fact of working on the continent at some point in their careers.

It seems that the Bedyngham, Tik and Standley *Sine nomine* Masses (M15, M34 and M35) can all best be seen as the work of English composers under partial continental influence, with at least one of these composers being understood to have worked on the continent. Each Mass has elements of continental style and each composer has been linked, with varying degrees of confidence, to continental employment.

⁴⁹ *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 20–1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

M39 – *Veni creator spiritus*

Perhaps the most deviant of all of the nominally English Masses is *Veni creator spiritus*. It follows the continental pattern for mensural changes in the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei, departs from the mensural scheme in two movements, and displays no planned textural scheme. Despite this, it seems clearly to have a curtailed prosula Kyrie and omits several lines of text from the Credo. It seems extremely unlikely indeed for a continental Mass to have been composed with a curtailed prosula Kyrie, and this cycle would be unique if this were the case. As discussed in chapter 3, the handling of the vocal ranges is extremely unusual in this Mass and in this respect does not seem indicative of English practice. There is the slim chance that this Mass might be a unique discant type work with unusual distribution of the *cantus firmus* in the middle voice, but this seems on balance unlikely.

In general, it seems impossible to recommend this with any confidence as either an English or a continental work. It seems more likely to be continental, but it is very hard, if not impossible, to offer a context for the Kyrie. Perhaps this is a work by a continental composer written specifically for an English institution on the continent. Otherwise, it may be the work of an extremely individual composer or else a particularly corrupt transmission.

Having discussed those apparently English Masses that display clear elements of a continental approach, the discussion will proceed to discussing those apparently continental Masses that show elements of

English practice. Those Masses that appear to display the closest proximity to English style will be considered first.

CM15 – *Sine nomine*

The anonymous *Sine nomine* (CM15) is a fascinating cycle that has many elements indicative of English style. Not only this, but Strohm has noted that he believes this Mass to be very close specifically to the style of Frye's *So ys emprentid* (M45).⁵¹ Despite this observation, the Mass was never included in the Curtis/Wathey handlist.

In terms of structural elements, it is one of a very small number of continental Masses with significant text omission and telescoping in the Credo. The only other continental Masses to display such telescoping have clear links with England (Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid*, for instance). The Mass also has a strict mensural scheme and bischematic textural groundplan.

Despite all these elements of English style, there are elements of continental practice too. The internal proportions of the Kyrie seem to require ♪ (unknown in England) and moreover the positioning of the mensural changes in the Agnus Dei is very continental. It seems not to be an English cycle, but rather a work by an English composer working on the continent or by a continental composer working in an English context. Of course, the second layer of SP B80 is also home to the English 'Two

⁵¹ Strohm (1985), 141.

Kyries' Mass and Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid*. Most importantly, the latter contains one of the few other examples of a continental telescoped Credo.

Possible links between SP B80 and the English Hospital of St Thomas in Rome will be discussed in detail in chapter 6. For now, it is worth noting that the manuscript also contains the *Sine nomine* (CM16) that has significant Credo omissions, conforms to a bischematic textural plan (like so many of the 'unusual' Masses discussed here), and contains English melodic patterns. Even Caron's *L'homme armé*, transmitted in the same manuscript, appears to show an element of English practice with respect to the position of one of the mensural changes in the Agnus Dei, and even the extreme length of this movement.

CM22 – *Le serviteur*

Like the above *Sine nomine* (CM15), the Tr88 *Le serviteur* Mass (CM22) corresponds to English style in several ways. Firstly, the Kyrie seems influenced by the English prosula Kyrie. It seems unlikely to be a scribally emended prosula Kyrie, however, as shown by its relative brevity. It also follows the following features of English practice: significant Credo text omission; the English trend for the positioning of mensural changes in the Agnus Dei; and a strict overall mensural scheme. Each movement (other than the Kyrie), moreover, is of relatively equal size. The Mass actually has no specific indicators of continental style and may very well be

English, especially since it uses the 'English figure' – a point noted by Gerber who discussed its general proximity to English style.⁵²

Interestingly, the two other Masses on the same chanson model, that by Faugues (CM26) and the anonymous Tr89 cycle (CM29), both display elements of English influence. The Faugues cycle follows a bischematic textural scheme, though otherwise it displays no evidence of English influence. The Tr89 cycle, on the other hand, has significant Credo text omission and follows a clear textural plan with only minor deviations. Whether these English elements are evidence of direct English influence or stand testament to the increasing, more generalised English influence on the continent and absorbed into general discourse is an open question.

CM23 – Ockeghem's *Caput*

Ockeghem's *Caput* has clear elements of English influence, demonstrating telescoping in the Credo, mensural changes in the Agnus Dei at the points most common in English cycles, and a mensural scheme based on the English *Caput* Mass. The Mass is clearly continental but is closely related to the English practices of its model. Many of the features (the telescoping, for instance) are likely forced by the strict relationship between the two works.

⁵² *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 98.

CM32 – *Du cuer je souspier*

Du cuer je souspier, from the point of view of structural and textual elements, seems by a margin to be the best candidate for an English Mass. It perfectly follows the English manner of structuring a prosula Kyrie in every way. The Credo is also telescoped, something that occurs only in English Masses and in those continental Masses with a demonstrably close relationship to them. *Du cuer je souspier* follows English practice in terms of mensural division in the Agnus Dei, conforms strictly to an overall mensural plan, and has identically sized internal and external movements. The textural groundplan is also bischematic, something which generally seems to occur in Masses which blur the boundary between English and continental practice.

Another interesting point is that the textural plan links the Kyrie and Agnus and the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus as two distinct units. The other two Masses that utilise this exact type of textural groundplan are Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) and the anonymous *Thomas cesus* (M52). It has been argued here that the first of these Masses, whilst English, was clearly influenced by continental practice, and that *Thomas cesus* was likely written for an English institution on the continent. *Du cuer je souspier* will be further discussed in the following chapter.

As well as those Masses that appear to have a demonstrably close relationship to English Masses and English style, a great many others show isolated elements typical of English practice. These Masses quite likely show the degree to which elements of English style became

absorbed as a part of continental practice over time, rather than giving evidence of direct English contact, though such contact obviously is never ruled out. In total, nine continental Masses appear to have a single element that is closer to English than to continental practice. These Masses are Du Fay’s *Ave regina* (CM3), Cornago’s *Ayo visto lo mappamundi* (CM9), Du Fay’s *Sine nomine* (*Resvelliés vous*) (CM19), *Grüne linden* (CM24), *Esclave puist il devenir* (CM25), Tourout’s *Monyel* (CM30), *Sine nomine* (CM31), *O rosa bella* (CM35) and *Sine nomine* (CM37). Interestingly, most of these Masses occur within the manuscripts Tr88, Tr89 and SP B80.

Considering the above discussion, the following newly classified repertoire groups are presented.

Band II English Mass cycles

Ref.	Title/ Cantus firmus	Composer
M1	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Plummer
M6	<i>Quem malignus spiritus</i>	Anon.
M7	<i>Caput</i>	Anon.
M12	<i>Alma redemptoris</i>	Anon.
M21	<i>Salve sancta parens</i>	Anon.
M28	<i>Summe trinitati</i>	Frye
M29	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Cox
M30	<i>Flos regalis</i>	Frye
M31	<i>Nobilis et pulcra</i>	Frye
M32	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
M40	<i>Veterem hominem</i>	Anon.
M45	<i>So ys emprentid</i>	Frye
M46	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
M47	<i>Te gloriosus</i>	Anon.
M48	<i>Sancta maria virgo</i>	Anon.

Ref.	Title/ Cantus firmus	Composer
M49	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
M50	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
M54	<i>Dueil angoisseux</i>	Bedyngham
M60	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
M62	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon./Plummer

Continental-influenced English or English-influenced continental cycles

Ref.	Title/ Cantus firmus	Composer
M15	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Bedyngham
M33	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Pulloy
M34	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Standley
M35	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tik
M36	<i>Meditatio cordis</i>	Anon.
M38	<i>Rozel im gart'n</i>	Anon.
M39	<i>Veni creator spiritus</i>	Anon.
M41	<i>O rosa bella</i>	Anon.
M51	<i>So ys emprentid</i>	Rouge
M52	<i>Thomas cesus</i>	Anon.
M58	<i>O admirabile</i>	Simon de Insula
M59	<i>Ad fugam reservatum</i>	Standley
M63	<i>Christus surrexit</i>	Anon.
CM15	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
CM16	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
CM22	<i>Le serviteur</i>	Anon.
CM23	<i>Caput</i>	Ockeghem
CM32	<i>Du cuer je souspier</i>	Anon.

Continental cycles

Ref.	Title/ Cantus firmus	Composer
CM1	<i>Ecce ancilla domini</i>	Du Fay
CM2	<i>Pour quelque paine</i>	Cornelius Heyns
CM3	<i>Ave regina</i>	Du Fay

Ref.	Title/ Cantus firmus	Composer
CM4	<i>Ecce ancilla domini/ Ne timeas maria</i>	Johannes Regis
CM5	<i>Spiritus almus</i>	Petrus de Domarto
CM6	<i>Quinti toni irregularis</i>	Petrus de Domarto
CM7	<i>L'homme armé</i>	Du Fay
CM8	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tourout
CM9	<i>Ayo visto lo mappamundi</i>	Johannes Cornago
CM10	<i>Wünslichen schön</i>	Anon.
CM11	<i>Au chant de lalouete</i>	Anon.
CM12	<i>Terribliment</i>	Barbingant
CM13	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
CM14	<i>L'homme armé</i>	Caron
CM17	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
CM18	<i>Pour l'amour dune</i>	Anon.
CM19	<i>Sine nomine (Resvelliés vous)</i>	Du Fay
CM20	<i>Se tu t'en marias</i>	Anon.
CM21	<i>Se la face ay pale</i>	Anon.
CM24	<i>Grüne linden</i>	Anon.
CM25	<i>Esclave puist il devenir</i>	Anon.
CM26	<i>Le serviteur</i>	Faugues
CM27	<i>Gross sehnen</i>	Anon.
CM28	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Tourout
CM29	<i>Le serviteur</i>	Anon.
CM30	<i>Monyel</i>	Tourout
CM31	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
CM33	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Bassere
CM34	<i>Quant che vendra</i>	Anon.
CM35	<i>O rosa bella</i>	Anon.
CM36	<i>Clemens et benigna</i>	Caron
CM37	<i>Sine nomine</i>	Anon.
M37	<i>Hilf und gib rat</i>	Philipi
M57	<i>Puisque m'amour</i>	Anon.
M61	<i>Te deum</i>	Anon.

Chapter 6

Case Studies: A Focus on *Du cuer je souspier* and *Thomas cesus*

In this thesis, it has been argued that a polarisation between English and continental provenance is not always useful when discussing the origin of Mass cycles. As discussed in chapter 1, there were a great many contexts that allowed for cultural exchange between England and the continent. The resultant Mass cycles, as demonstrated in chapters 4 and 5, display English and continental features. It is upon two of these cycles that the discussion will now focus. The first of these, *Du cuer je souspier*, found in Tr89, is generally accepted as being of continental provenance (6.1).¹ It will be demonstrated that this cycle actually displays many English traits² and postulated that it is most likely to have been composed by an English composer working on the continent.

The second case study focusses on the *Thomas cesus* Mass found in SPB80 (6.2). This Mass is generally accepted to be of English origin,³ though Christopher Reynolds has recently proposed Caron as its composer without discussing the work's supposed English origin in much

¹See the discussion in *Trienter Codices: Siebente Auswahl: Messen von Jean Cousin, Joannes Martini, Guillaume le Rouge, Anonymous, Rudolf Flotzinger* (ed.) DTO, 120 (Vienna 1970), XIV–XV. The Mass was not included in the Curtis and Wathey handlist.

²Andrew Kirkman appears to have been the first to discuss the English features of this cycle in Kirkman (1995), 153 and 183. However, he agrees with Flotzinger that Franco-Burgundian origin is more likely.

³Strohm notes that the plainchant source of this Mass is 'probably of English origin' and gives a list of chant sources. This is provided by Strohm in a footnote for Reynolds (1981), 285, n. 43. The cycle was included in the Curtis and Wathey handlist.

detail.⁴ It will be argued that this cycle corresponds far better to continental practice but that Caron is unlikely to be its author.

6.1: The *Du cuer je souspier* Mass

The *Du cuer je souspier* Mass is an extremely interesting yet little known work. Occurring as an *unicum* in Tr89, it was first discussed at length by Louis Gottlieb.⁵ It was not until after the later publication of the Mass by Flotzinger, in the DTÖ series,⁶ that its *cantus firmus* was identified. Originally, Flotzinger believed the Mass to be related to the Kyrie *Fons bonitatis*.⁷ However, as Craig Wright demonstrated, the *cantus firmus* is actually a simplified version of the monophonic lai *De cuer je soupire* (Dijon 2837, f. 1r).⁸

***Cantus firmus* and mensural handling**

The short *cantus firmus* is stated four times in each mensural section, transposed up a tone after each occurrence, leaving a fifth between the last note of the proceeding statement and the first note of the next. The scribe has added the following verbal canon 'Q[u]ater cane, prius plane; Iterum compositio; Diapente constat sane; Pausis demptis initio.' ('Sing four times, the first time as it stands; then start again a fifth higher [than the last note of the preceding statement] and proceed exactly as before,

⁴ Reynolds (1995), 203–27.

⁵ Louis Gottlieb, *The Cyclic Masses of Trent Codex 89* (Doctoral Dissertation: University of California, Berkeley, 1958), 55–65.

⁶ Flotzinger (1970), 62–91.

⁷ Ibid., xiv–xv.

⁸ Craig Wright, 'A Fragmentary Manuscript of Early 15th-Century Music in Dijon' in *JAMS*, 27 (1974), 306–15.

omitting the rests at the beginning.⁹) This practice of hexachordal transposition is nothing new, though. As Mitchell has noted, there appear to be only two earlier uses of this practice – both by Dunstaple.¹⁰

The choice of *cantus firmus* is unusual. Of course, English composers wrote cyclic Masses based on continental secular songs – Bedyngham's *Dueil angoisseux*, for instance – and the French *cantus firmus* should not necessarily be seen as evidence against English provenance. Perhaps it is more likely to have been used by a continental composer, or at least an English composer working on the continent, however. Indeed, each of the Masses based on secular continental *cantus firmi* discussed in chapters 4 and 5 seems to be the work of a continental composer influenced by English works or *vice versa*.

The most unusual element of this *cantus firmus* is that it comes from a *lai*. No other Mass utilises this genre, though it is entirely possible that there are examples currently listed as *Sine nomine*. This *lai* is particularly unusual since it is the last surviving *lai* to have been copied,¹¹ though it could have been fairly old at the time. *Du cuer je sousprier*

⁹ John Caldwell's advice has been invaluable for this translation. Flotzinger gives the following translation 'singe ihn viermal ("teter" = Latinisierung von griech. "tettera" = vier): zuerst glatt (d. h. wie's dasteht), dann das Ganze in der Quint, wobei man am Anfang die Pausen wegläss'. See, *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*, XIV. A comparison of the T of Teter with the Q of Quoniam and Qui tollis by the same scribe shows that it is Q[u]ater, rather than Teter that is written here. The scribe clearly writes Qs with an angular stroke-structure and a dot in the middle.

¹⁰ *The Trent 89 Equal-Voice Mass, Plus Marian Propers and Miscellaneous Items, Ex codicis Tridentinis*, 2/1, Robert Mitchell (ed.) (Sudbury: Author, 2003). Chapter X, *Missa Du cuer je sousprier*, 1. Mitchell has kindly given me a digital copy of this book. Page numbers in the digital copy may not correspond to the printed copy. The relevant chapter as well as page number will be cited as an aid to referencing.

¹¹ Wright (1974), 310–13.

seems to have been known in German-speaking lands too, under the name *Ich suffzen von herte*, since one of the void-notation pieces in the lost manuscript Stras 222, which were inventoried by Coussemaker (no. 209), gives this text to a musical incipit identical to that of the *lai*.¹²

The Mass follows the same mensural scheme in each movement. However, the initial statements of the *cantus firmus* are notated in C against O in the other voices. In practice, this represents an augmentation of C – an example of what Tinctoris described as the ‘error Anglorum’. The second statement of the *cantus firmus* has the same mensuration as the other voices. This particular mensural configuration was common in band I English works, but is unheard of in band II. It closely resembles the mensural handling in Power’s *Alma redemptoris* (M43), except for its additional voice. It may even have had the same mensural scheme as the four-voice *Requiem eternam* (M16), though this is unclear owing to damage to the source of the latter.

The notation of the tenor is also somewhat unusual. As Mitchell has noted, the tenor uses flagged semiminims against coloured semiminims in the other voices – a possible Anglicism.¹³ Charles Hamm demonstrated that this was prevalent in English works and was often, but not always, indicative of the voice in which the flagged semiminims occur requiring

¹² *The Trent 89 Equal-Voice Mass*, Chapter X, *Missa Du cuer je souspier*, 4.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 5.

augmentation.¹⁴ This is precisely the case in this cycle. Most interestingly, this is another feature more common in band I than in later works.

'Style' and melodic features

The evidence of structural and textual features discussed in chapters 4 and 5 suggests that *Du cuer je souspier* is quintessentially English.

However, purely structural and textual points seem unlikely to leave as much of an aural impression as the contrapuntal style of the piece and any argument that fails to consider this is telling only half a story.

However, quite what is to be defined by 'style' is open to question.

As Peter Wright has noted, a great many English Masses open with 'a held note followed by increased movement as the melody rises a major third and then stepwise to the fifth.'¹⁵ *Quem malignus spiritus* (M6), is a good example of this opening, with a minor rather than a major third.

Exx. 1a-e show the opening of each movement.

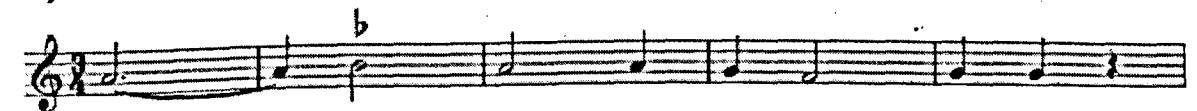
Ex. 1a: *Quem malignus spiritus*, Kyrie, bb. 1-6 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)



Ex. 1b: *Quem malignus spiritus*, Gloria, bb. 1-5 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)



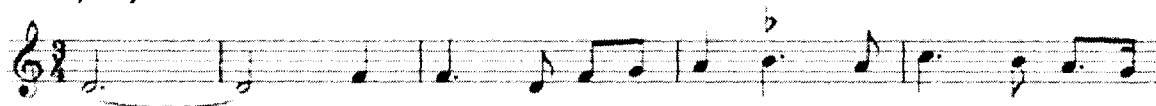
Ex. 1c: *Quem malignus spiritus*, Credo, bb. 1-5 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)



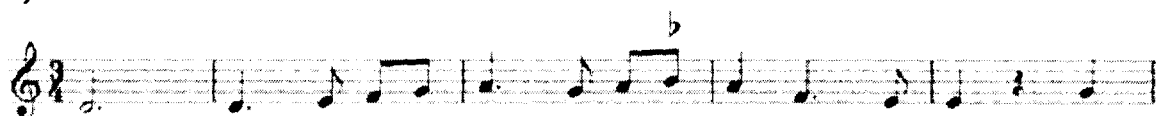
¹⁴ Hamm (1960), 211-15.

¹⁵ Wright (2000), 91.

Ex. 1d: *Quem malignus spiritus*, Sanctus, bb. 1–5 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)



Ex. 1e: *Quem malignus spiritus*, Agnus, bb. 1–5 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)



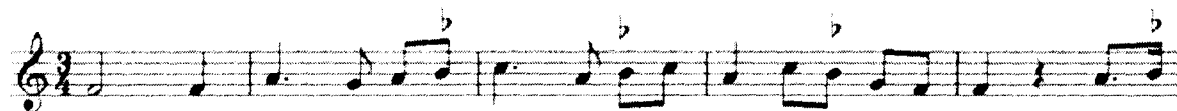
Clearly, *Quem malignus spiritus* makes extensive use of this opening, avoiding it only in the Credo (ex. 1c), where the Credo chant is instead paraphrased. The Kyrie and Gloria (exx. 1a–b) follow the opening motif most exactly, beginning with the leap of the third and then proceeding by step to the fifth. The Sanctus (ex. 1d) is similar but with only a small departure, descending to the opening pitch before proceeding to the fifth. Interestingly, the Agnus Dei (ex. 1e) outlines the same intervals, but does so by step.

Fuit homo missus (M56) also clearly uses this opening figure but again subtly alters it:

Ex. 2a: *Fuit homo missus*, Kyrie, bb. 1–5 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)



Ex. 2b: *Fuit homo missus*, Gloria, bb. 1–5 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)



Ex. 2c: *Fuit homo missus*, Credo, bb. 1–6 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, II)



This Mass also introduces another possibility. In the Sanctus (ex. 2d), the discantus opens by falling a third and then descends to a fourth below (the inversion of rising a fifth). The Credo (ex. 2c) is similar. Whilst it gradually ascends a third at the opening, it then slowly descends to a fourth below rather than a fifth above.

¹⁶ As noted in Hamm (1968), 59.

nomine (M49), *Veterem hominem* (M40) and *Caput* (M7) display the falling third followed by the falling second in their opening motifs.

How, then, does the opening of the *Du cuer je sousprier* Mass correspond to the examples discussed above? Exx. 3a–e show the opening of each movement of the cycle.

Ex. 3a: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Kyrie, bb. 1–5 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 3b: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Gloria, bb. 1–6 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 3c: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Credo, bb. 1–6 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



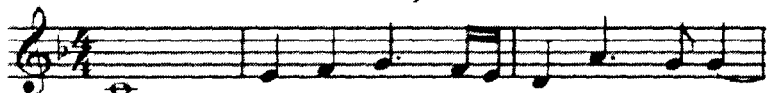
Ex. 3d: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Sanctus, bb. 1–5 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 3e: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Agnus, bb. 1–5 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 3f: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Credo, bb. 84–6 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Each movement (exx. 3a–e) begins with the interval of a stepwise rising major third. This is very similar to exx. 2a, 2c and 2e above. What sets *Du cuer je sousprier* apart is the avoidance of the rise to the fifth after the

opening rise of a third. In the Kyrie and Agnus (exx. 3a and 3e), the arch-like melody peaks at the fourth, rather than the fifth, before gradually returning to the opening pitch. The most clearly emphasised intervals are the third and fourth, rather than the third and fifth. This rise to the fourth is hard to find in English cycles. The falling fourth (an inversion of the rising fifth) is heavily emphasised in the Gloria (ex. 3b) and ends the phrase in the Sanctus (ex. 3d). This is closest to ex. 2c, which begins with a rising third but also employs the falling fourth at the end of the phrase.

Whilst this Mass does not follow the exact opening described by Wright, some movements do have close parallels with English contemporaries and the interval of the rising third is strongly outlined. Moreover, the duple section of the Credo opens with the figure exactly as Wright describes it (ex. 3f). It must be noted that this opening is by no means unique to English music and that Wright has already discussed its use by Binchois in his discussion of the influence of English music on the composer. It nevertheless seems comparatively rare in contemporary continental works.¹⁷

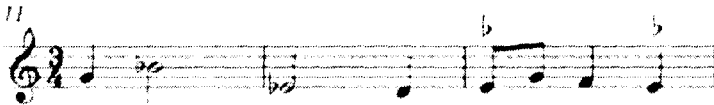
¹⁷ This is not to say that it is impossible to find. The Mass *Se tu t'en maries* clearly begins every movement with a variation of the figure discussed above. This Mass has absolutely no structural or textual elements that may be considered suggestive of English provenance. It is based, however, on a chanson by Binchois. Given that Binchois is one of very few continental composers to use this figure, it may simply be suggestive that Binchois composed this Mass. There are no complete Mass cycles written by Binchois with which to compare it. Further, Binchois seems seldom to have utilised *cantus firmi* in his works and seldom wrote four-voice works. It is possible that the composer of this Mass, whilst borrowing from a Binchois chanson, chose to utilise this figure to give the music a flavour of Binchois' style – perhaps unaware that Binchois had himself borrowed this figure from England.

One of the most immediately striking aspects of *Du cuer je souspier* is the astonishing variety of leaps in the discantus. Toward the end of ex. 4a (bb. 7–9), the discantus begins to display extremely disjunct movement. This display of vocal pyrotechnics is not limited purely to this instance. Exx. 4b–d give a small example of the great many occurrences of such disjunct movement in the Kyrie alone. Ex. 5, from the opening of the Gloria, demonstrates that this type of movement is prevalent throughout the Mass – it permeates almost every phrase of the discantus.

Ex. 4a: *Du cuer je souspier*, Kyrie, bb. 1–10 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 4b: *Du cuer je souspier*, Kyrie, bb. 11–13 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



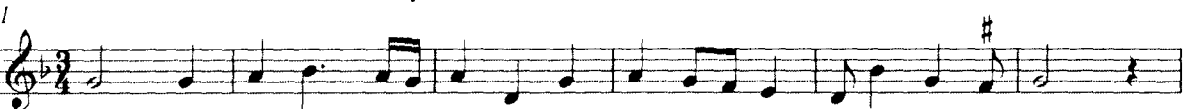
Ex. 4c: *Du cuer je souspier*, Kyrie, bb. 20–4 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 4d: *Du cuer je souspier*, Kyrie, bb. 27–32 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 5: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, bb. 1–6 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



The *Du cuer je sousprier* Mass is generally accorded status as a Franco-Flemish cycle. As Rob Wegman has noted, however, extremely disjunct melody is almost unheard of in this repertory and is employed by Faugues alone.¹⁸ The examples of this disjunct melodic style given by Wegman are clearly comparable to the discantus of *Du cuer je sousprier*.

Ex. 6a: *Le serviteur*, Kyrie, bb. 30–1 (taken from Wegman (1991))



Ex. 6b: *Le serviteur*, Sanctus, bb. 19–20 (taken from Wegman (1991))



Ex. 6c: *L'homme armé*, Kyrie, bb. 57–60 (taken from Wegman (1991))



Ex. 6d: *L'homme armé*, Credo, bb. 28–30 (taken from Wegman (1991))



Ex. 6e: *L'homme armé*, Credo, bb. 43–6 (taken from Wegman (1991))



Ex. 6f: *Je suis en la mer*, Credo, 32–4 (taken from Wegman (1991))



¹⁸ Rob C. Wegman, 'Guillaume Faugues and the Anonymous Masses "Au chant de l'alouete" and "Vinnus vina"', *TVNM*, 41 (1991), 33-4 esp. n.32.

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Masses.²⁰ This repetition consists of entire sections of music in more than one movement, often in structurally important sections. Sometimes, as in the case of the *La basse danse* Mass, entire sections are used in two movements whilst in others, such as *Le serviteur*, only the beginnings or ends of sections are repeated. Within *Du cuer je souspier*, structural repetition of this kind is absolutely avoided. Indeed, even the application of motto openings is not particularly strong since, whilst the discantus has a short and extensively varied motto opening, it does not even always cadence on the same pitch.

As Wegman has noted, the extreme disjunct movement of Faugues' melodies (so similar to the melodic line of *Du cuer je souspier*) is the product of the tendency for the top voices to 'pendulate between melodic goals more than an octave apart'.²¹ Whilst this is certainly the case in the contratenor of *Du cuer je souspier*, it is not so evident in the discantus. The discantus may be similarly disjunct, but its long and exceptionally rambling phrases often result in a return to the opening pitch or a move of only a fifth (see exx. 4 and 5 above, in which the majority of phrases end on the note on which they begin).

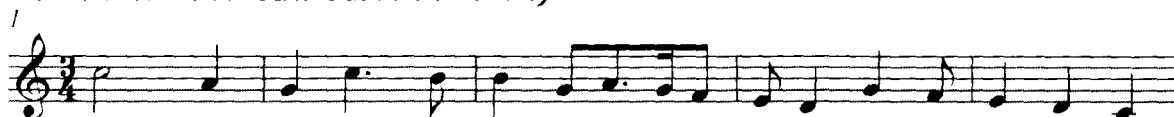
Clearly, *Du cuer je souspier* has little other than its disjunct passages to recommend it as being by Faugues. This melodic profile should therefore be questioned. In general, it does not seem obviously English. However, the phrases are long, rambling and seldom end far

²⁰ Wegman (1991), 38–42.

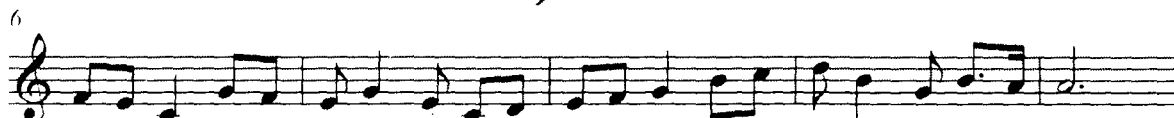
²¹ Ibid., 34.

from the pitch on which they began – a key element of English style noted by both Monson and Curtis.²² Moreover, close analogies to band II Masses with a high proportion of leaps of a third or more can be found. *Veterem hominem* (M40), for example, frequently outlines the melodic leap of a fourth (ex. 7a) or a fifth (exx. 7b and 7d) and has many extremely triadic patterns (exx. 7b and 7c). These passages make good comparison with exx. 4 and 5 from *Du cuer je souspier*, which make extensive use of the same melodic intervals. Moreover, the octave leaps found in exx. 4a, 4d and 5, whilst not present in *Veterem hominem*, are a key element of Walter Frye's style.²³

Ex. 7a: *Veterem hominem*, Kyrie, bb. 1–5 (edition consulted: *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*)



Ex. 7b: *Veterem hominem*, Kyrie, bb. 6–10 (edition consulted: *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*)



Ex. 7c: *Veterem hominem*, Kyrie, bb. 74–80 (edition consulted: *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*)



²² Monson (1975), 248 and Curtis (1981), 51.

²³ Kirkman (1992), 196.

Ex. 7d: *Veterem hominem*, Gloria, bb. 15–17 (edition consulted: *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*)



Du cuer je souspier also contains melodic figures and interval patterns that are seen as quintessentially English. Craig Monson has cited the melodic pattern of a falling third, a rising second and a falling third as common in England and yet rare on the continent.²⁴ His examples are given below.

Ex. 8a: Power *Salve Regina*, bb. 22–6 (taken from Monson (1975))



Ex. 8b: Power *Ibo Michi*, bb. 8–10 (taken from Monson (1975))



Ex. 8c: Dunstaple Gloria *Spiritus et alme*, bb. 48–51 (taken from Monson (1975))



Ex. 8d: Dunstaple/Power, Gloria *Rex seculorum*, bb. 120–3 (taken from Monson (1975))



This figure is also clearly present in the *Du cuer je souspier* Mass. Ex. 9 is perhaps the best illustration, since it includes the motif in its entirety in two voices simultaneously.

²⁴ Monson (1975), 256.

Ex. 9: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, discantus and contratenor bb. 43–5 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



This is not the only occurrence of this motif. Ex. 10, for instance, shows its use in the discantus of the Kyrie.

Ex.10: *Du cuer je souspier*, Kyrie, discantus bb. 63–5 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



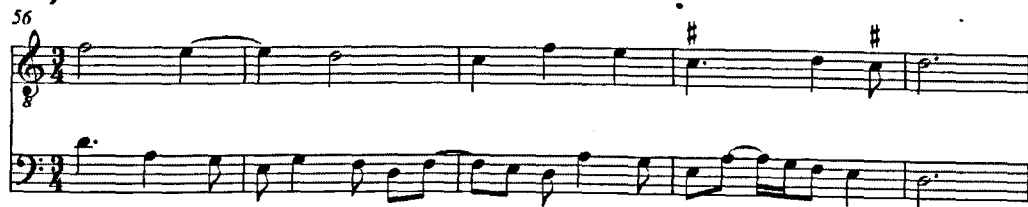
Ex. 9, which uses the motif imitatively between the two voices, clearly recalls the work of Walter Frye, especially his writing for duet passages. As Kirkman has noted, Frye's use of imitation 'is usually within phrases in duos, where it serves to bind the two parts together motivically.' He further notes that '[t]he cohesive effect is particularly strong when the interval between entries is close.'²⁵

The *Du cuer je souspier* example is not a duet passage since it is supported by held notes in the lower two voices. The lack of movement in the lower voices does rather give this the character of a duet section, however. In this example, the imitative material is repeated at pitch but at a distance that makes the material proceed most frequently at an interval of a third between the two voices. The combination of imitation, rhythmic repetition and sequence specifically calls to mind bb. 56–9 of the

²⁵ Kirkman (1992), 210.

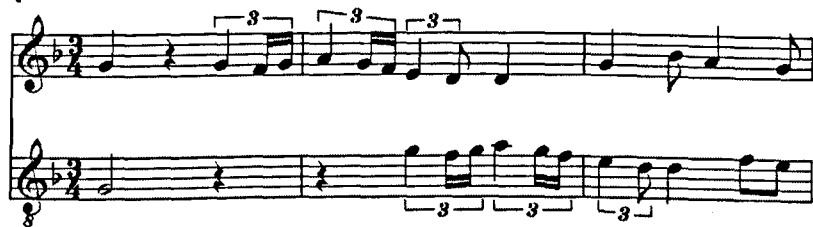
Credo of Frye's *Flos regalis*, shown here as ex. 11. As Kirkman has noted, '[h]ere, the tactic [rhythmic repetition combined with sequence] forces attention on the short duo passage, which becomes a focal point, breaking up two fully scored blocks.'²⁶

Ex. 11: Frye's *Flos regalis*, Credo, bb. 56–60 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, III)



The *Du cuer je souspier* example has much the same effect, even if it is supported by held notes in the lower voices. Moreover, there are several other examples of imitation, rhythmic repetition and sequence found within duo sections in the Mass which can be said to have the same structural importance as Kirkman notes in Frye. Exx. 12a–c illustrate this point.

Ex. 12a: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, discantus and contratenor bb. 6–8 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 12b: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, discantus and contratenor bb. 13–7 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



²⁶ Kirkman (1992), 201.

Ex. 12c: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Sanctus, discantus and contratenor bb. 13–7 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)

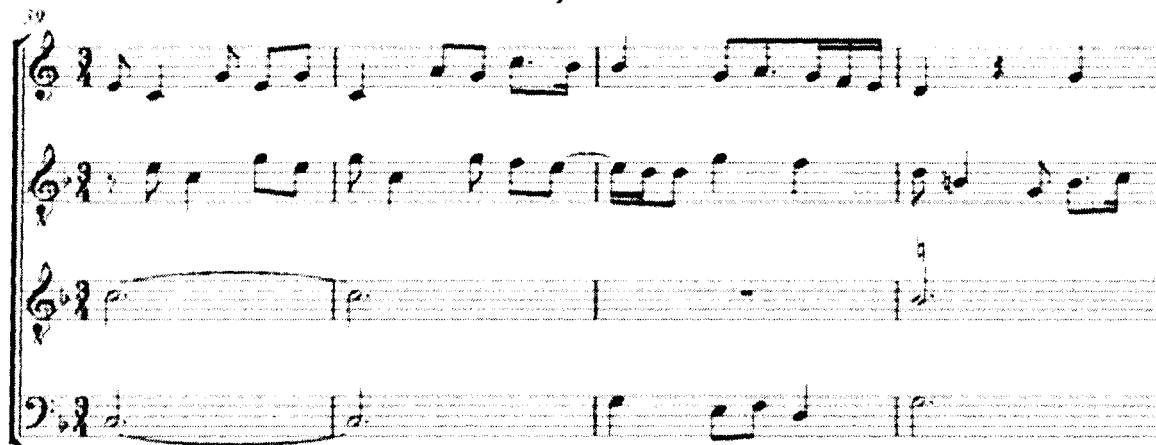


Short examples of imitation and sequence within duet sections are actually less common than those in full-voice sections. To add to ex. 9 above, exx. 13a–c give several further demonstrations of two-voice imitative patterns that occur in full-scored sections.

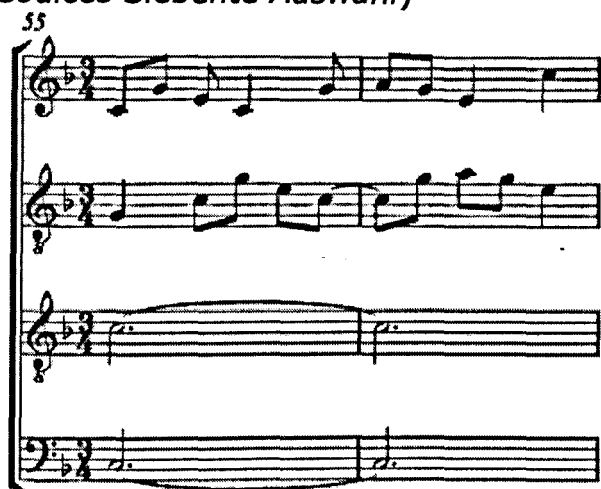
Ex. 13a: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Kyrie, bb. 19–21 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 13b: *Du cuer je sousprier*, Kyrie, bb. 39–42 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 13c: *Du cuer je souspier*, Credo, bb. 55–6 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



This use of imitation within the full-textured sections is at odds with Frye's style, even if its use within the duo sections seems quite typical. Indeed, despite the above-mentioned specific similarity with one of Frye's stylistic traits, the work has little in common with his general style.

As Kirkman notes, the frequent use of the *minima* rest is perhaps Frye's most recognisable fingerprint.²⁷ This gives Frye's melodies a shorter phrase length than in most English works. Clearly, *Du cuer je souspier* corresponds better to the longer length phrase structure that characterises the work of other English composers.

As noted above, *Du cuer je souspier* makes frequent use of octave leaps once a voice has reached the bottom of its range. Frye continually uses this technique but combines it with a *minima* rest to offset the phrase rhythmically.²⁸ Whilst the *Du cuer je souspier* Mass never makes use of the *minima* rest in this manner, the composer almost always

²⁷ Kirkman (1992), 196.

²⁸ Ibid.

offsets rhythmically the octave leap in other ways, as shown in exx. 14a–d.

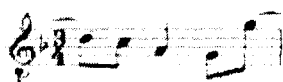
Ex. 14a: *Du cuer je souspier*, Kyrie, discantus b.8 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 14b: *Du cuer je souspier*, Kyrie, contratenor b.107 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 14c: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, contratenor b.12 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 14d: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, contratenor b.16 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Even if there is insufficient evidence to classify *Du cuer je souspier* as a work by Frye, it seems likely to have been written by a composer with an awareness of Frye's style.²⁹

Perhaps the most problematic stylistic feature of *Du cuer je souspier*, in terms of evidence of Englishness, is the amount of imitation found in full-scored passages. This is unusual, not only for Frye, but also for most English composers. Anne Besser Scott has noted, however, that Plummer is unique amongst his English contemporaries in using imitation

²⁹ Frye could have been influenced by this Mass instead. However, this Mass seems far less well-known than the works of Frye. It would also pre-suppose Frye having been active on the continent or continental works having been available in England. Both of these possibilities should perhaps remain open, even if current scholarship generally rejects both.

and repetition as a key part of his style.³⁰ A look at Plummer's surviving Masses does indeed provide ready parallels for the kind of imitation employed in the full-voice sections of *Du cuer je souspier*.

Ex. 15a: Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1), Credo, bb. 39–46 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, III)

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³⁰ Anne Besser Scott, "'Ibo michi ad montem mirre:' A New Motet by Plummer?", *TMQ*, 58/4 (1972), 550, notes that repetition and imitation are conspicuously absent from English motets of the period. The degree to which the musical language of the motets and Masses can be said to correspond is open to question. Despite this, repetition and imitation are not elements that are usually noted as elements of English Mass style. Wright, in *FCLM*, VIII, xvi notes that, within the band I Gloria and Credo repertory, imitation is rare and purely decorative, rather than structural. He does, however, note some examples including Soursby's Gloria *O Sacrum convivium*, the anonymous Gloria *Anglicanus* found in Tr92 ff. 151v–2v and the anonymous Credo *De Anglia* found in Aosta ff.142v–4r, Tr93 ff.276v–8r and Tr90 ff.205v–7r.

Ex. 15b: Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1), Sanctus, bb. 57–60 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, III)



Exx. 15a–b are from Plummer's *Sine nomine* (M1), but many more examples can be found in this Mass and *Ad voces pares* (M62), attributed to Plummer. Just like *Du cuer je souspier*, pairs of voices are used in imitation against non-imitative material in another voice. In general, the device is used subtly, with a shared opening phrase that proceeds to separate material. This seems particularly close to the manner in which imitation is used in the full-voice sections of *Du cuer je souspier* (see ex. 13).

It is precisely the subtle and sparse use of imitation and repetition in duo and full-voice sections that marks the *Du cuer je souspier* Mass as closer to the style of Frye and Plummer than their continental contemporaries. A brief comparison with the imitation and repetition used by Du Fay in his *Ave regina celorum* Mass demonstrates a composer who used these techniques much more boldly. Imitation in full-voice and duo sections is much more frequent and, in the latter, can be of quite extraordinary length (see ex. 13 for comparison).

Ex. 16: Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum* Mass, Credo, discantus and contratenor, bb. 25–38 (edition consulted: *Guillaume Dufay: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 3.)

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a discantus and contratenor. Each system consists of two staves. The first system (measures 25-28) is in a key with one flat (B-flat). The second system (measures 29-33) continues in the same key. The third system (measures 34-38) begins with a key signature change to one sharp (F#) and continues to the end of the excerpt. The notation includes various note values and rests, with a key signature change to one sharp (F#) in the third system.

Whilst *Du cuer je souspier* corresponds exactly to neither the styles of Frye nor Plummer, the particular patterns of imitation and repetition used in both duo and full-voice sections have clear and obvious English parallels in these two composers.

The final and perhaps most telling motivic element is the 'English figure'. Kirkman's illustration of this often cadential motif in its most basic form gives a good example by which to measure motifs that seemingly derive from it.

Ex. 17 'The English figure' (Kirkman (1995), 166)

The image shows a single staff of music containing a five-measure phrase. The first measure contains a half note, followed by four eighth notes in the subsequent measures. The notation is in a key with one flat (B-flat).

Hamm observed that this figure appears a great many times within the English repertory and yet relatively rarely on the continent.³¹ Whilst looking at the works of Du Fay, Hamm was able to identify only three occurrences. One of these, the *Caput* Mass (M7) is now known to be English. The other two works, as Peter Wright notes,³² present the figure with rhythmic variants.

Kirkman notes this figure in some continental works from later in the fifteenth century, citing the following examples: Busnoys' *L'homme Armé* Mass, the *So ys emprentid* Mass, the *La belle se siet* Mass, two anonymous *Sine nomine* Masses found in Tr91 (ff.49v–58 and 226v–35) and the *Sine nomine* Mass by Vincenet in the same manuscript.³³ He also notes its occurrence in *Christus surrexit*, *Rex dabit mercedem* and *O rosa bella I* and *III*, Masses that he believes have little supporting evidence for English origin.³⁴

Given the discussion in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis, greater emphasis could be placed on the possible English origin of *Christus surrexit*. Further, the connection between England and *So ys emprentid* and at least the first of the two *O rosa bella* Masses (even if they are not of English origin) makes the inclusion of the English figure in these Masses unsurprising.

³¹ Hamm discusses this at length in Hamm (1960), 211–15, and Charles Hamm, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 52–4, 92–4, 118, 128–9.

³² Wright (2000), 97 n. 31.

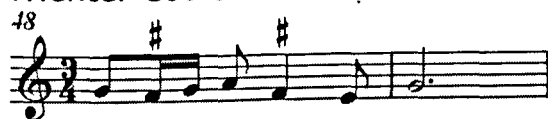
³³ Kirkman (1995), 166 n. 112.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 166 n. 113.

Kirkman does, however, offer examples of this figure in continental Masses with little demonstrable connection to England. More recently, Wright has noted that the vast majority of continental usages of this figure are modified, at least within the song repertory.³⁵ He also notes that Binchois is unusual, or perhaps unique, in being a continental composer who expresses the figure through coloration.³⁶ Both Kirkman³⁷ and Snow³⁸ also note this use of coloration for the figure in English Masses.

If Kirkman's examples of this figure are considered, it is clear that the majority of continental Masses do indeed present the 'English figure' in different rhythmic configurations and without coloration. The *So ys emprentid* Mass, clearly so heavily influenced by English music, makes use of the 'English figure' in just two cadences. Interestingly, these cadences have been removed from the SPB80 version of the Mass – clearly the action of a continental scribe who found the figuration unusual.³⁹ The Mass presents two different rhythmic examples of this figure (ex. 18), neither of which makes use of coloration.

Ex. 18a: Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid*, Kyrie, bb. 48–9 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



³⁵ Wright (2000), 97 n. 31.

³⁶ Ibid., 96–7.

³⁷ Kirkman (1995), 166.

³⁸ Snow (1968), 92.

³⁹ Scribal emendation of the 'English figure' is discussed in Kirkman (1995), 166.

Ex. 18b: Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid*, Agnus, bb. 14–15 (edition consulted: *Trionter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Christus surrexit also utilises the English figure only twice, in two different rhythmic configurations and without coloration. Interestingly, the example found in the Credo (ex. 19b) seems closest to the 'English figure' in the *Caput* Mass. Precisely this figuration is also used in the single example in the Tr88 *O rosa bella* Mass, again without coloration. These Masses are perhaps the most English of all the continental Masses that Kirkman notes, and yet they present the figure in varied forms and without coloration.

Ex. 19a: *Christus surrexit*, Gloria, bb. 121–2 (edition consulted: Gottlieb (1958))



Ex. 19b: *Christus surrexit*, Credo, bb. 55–6 (edition consulted: Gottlieb (1958))



The Tr89 *O rosa bella* Mass has very little about it that suggests English origin. Despite this, it has many examples of the 'English figure', again in many different rhythmic configurations, but this time also utilising coloration. The use of the English figure in this Mass is quite extraordinary; it approaches the kind of motivic integration that occurs in the *Caput* Mass where it is often used in sequential writing. Is this

perhaps indicative of this Mass being closer to English practice than suggested in the previous chapter or that use of the English figure with coloration is more common in continental works than previously thought?

It seems possible that the latter is actually true. Kirkman has already noted the use of the English figure by Busnoys in his *L'homme armé* Mass.⁴⁰ There is no suggestion that this work is English, nor is there any known connection between Busnoys and England.⁴¹ Wegman notes that in the version in Rvat 14 the sole instance of the 'English figure' is notated in coloration and may originally have had the figure 3 underneath it.⁴²

Wegman actually traces Busnoys' practice of mensural notation to English origins and notes several other occurrences of the 'English figure' in continental Masses. He suggests that Antwerp was an important staging post for the influence of English music in the 1440s, noting that Simon de Insula's *O admirabile commercium*, Ockeghem's *Caput*, Domarto's *Spiritus almus* and *Quinti toni irregularis*, and Pullois' *Sine nomine* all have strikingly English features and links to this area.

⁴⁰ Kirkman (1995), 166 n. 112.

⁴¹ Though it must be noted that some *L'homme armé* cycles do seem to display isolated moments of English influence, such as the unusual position of the mensural change in Caron's *L'homme armé*.

⁴² Rob Wegman, 'Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Antoine Busnoys' in *Antoine Busnoys: Method Meaning and Context in Late Medieval Music*, Paula Higgins (ed.) (New York: Oxford University Press, (1999), 186.

Interestingly, the first three listed of these cycles utilise the 'English figure' in coloration.⁴³

Wegman notes several other applications of the 'English figure' in continental works, for instance *L'ardant desir* which includes five cadential 'English figures', without coloration, and also the *Quant che vendra* cycle that displays two, in coloration. Interestingly, both of these cycles appear to have a link to Busnoys; the first, Wegman notes, may have been by his teacher, while the second Taruskin has attributed to Busnoys.⁴⁴

It is important not to completely discount the presence of the 'English figure' as an indicator of English provenance or influence despite the continental examples shown above. As Wegman notes, his focus in indicating examples of this motif has been upon the 'exceptions that prove the rule'.⁴⁵ Moreover, he suggests that each of these uses of the English figure are related to a specific context, namely music from the southern Netherlands, that utilised other English devices and that was composed up until the 1450s.⁴⁶

Clearly, like every other indicator of English provenance/influence discussed, it is but a single strand of evidence. However, its importance as an indicator is clearly increased in later cycles, since the practice apparently almost entirely stops in continental cycles after the 1450s. The practice of utilising coloration and proportional figures is also more

⁴³ Wegman (1999), 190–1.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 201–3.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 202.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

indicative of English practice, though it must be noted that it seems also to have been a practice that survived in the Netherlands in the 1440s and 1450s (itself a product of English influence). The final element that seems more suggestive of English provenance/influence is if the figure is motivically developed, becoming more integrated into the greater contrapuntal language.

It seems that *Du cuer je sousprier* corresponds to all three of the above elements. As the cycle appears in Tr89, copied c.1460–63/64, it could be seen as a slightly later Mass than those Southern-Netherlandish cycles that commonly utilised the 'English figure'. However, this cycle appears in the same manuscript as the *Quant che vendra* Mass, a southern Netherlandish cycle that utilises the 'English figure' in coloration. In terms of compositional style, some rather antiquated elements in this cycle have been noted above. These may seem to push the dating of the cycle back towards a period where the 'English figure' was more common on the continent. Wegman has made precisely this argument for *Quant che vendra*, noting

that the bass tends to follow the rhythmic movement of the tenor, enhancing the sonorous relief to the more active top voices whenever the *cantus firmus* is augmented, and causing, in effect, a textural 'layering' that was quite common in the 1450s. Imitation, even of the most incidental kind, is rigorously avoided in these stretches ... but crops up as soon as the texture is reduced to two parts.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Wegman (1995), 202.

By comparison, *Du cuer je souspier* seems stylistically later. All four voices are more equal than in *Quant che vendre*, since the melodic interest is not always in the discantus. Imitation too is more frequent (as discussed above) and can be found in sections other than duos. Moreover, the use of mode and of *ficta* is exceptional (as will be discussed later). In general, this cycle is at least toward the end of the period where use of the 'English figure' by continental composers was merely unusual, rather than exceptional.

Du cuer je souspier has many examples of the 'English figure' often in coloration, shown in ex. 20.

Ex. 20a: *Du cuer je souspier*, Kyrie, contratenor bb. 14–15 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20b: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, discantus bb. 34–5 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20c: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, discantus bb. 47–8 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20d: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, discantus bb. 58–9 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20e: *Du cuer je souspier*, Gloria, discantus bb. 82–3 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20f: *Du cuer je souspier*, Credo, discantus bb. 31–2 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20g: *Du cuer je souspier*, Sanctus, discantus bb. 82–3 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20h: *Du cuer je souspier*, Sanctus, contratenor bb. 93–4 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20i: *Du cuer je souspier*, Sanctus, discantus bb. 96–7 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



Ex. 20j: *Du cuer je souspier*, Agnus, contratenor bb. 57–8 (edition consulted: *Trienter Codices Siebente Auswahl*)



These small sections of coloration are not limited to the 'English figure', a practice that stems from an 'indebtedness to English notational tradition'.⁴⁸ These passages of coloration often (but not always) occur in figures that closely resemble the 'English figure', an example of the 'English figure' being integrated into the greater contrapuntal technique. A

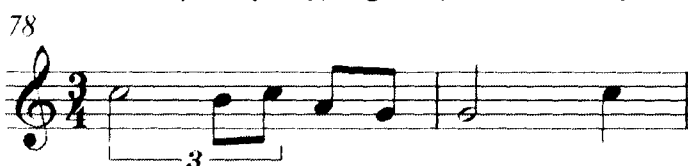
⁴⁸ *The Trent 89 Equal-Voice Mass*, Chapter X, *Missa Du cuer je souspier*, 5.

close comparison with the *Caput* Mass demonstrates that this practice is very close to the way the figure (and derivations thereof) were utilised by English composers.

Ex. 21a: *Caput* (M7), Agnus, bb. 45–6 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, VI)



Ex. 21b: *Caput* (M7), Agnus, bb. 78–9 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, VI)



Ex. 21c: *Caput* (M7), Agnus, bb. 128–9 (edition consulted: *FCLM*, VI)



A key difference in practice between English use of the figure and that by continental imitators is that, in the former, it is not always used cadentially. In these examples, the melody rests on the third below, rather than rising back to the expected cadence note. This is precisely the case in the above exx. 19c, 19d and 19f from *Du cuer je souspier*. In this way, for both *Caput* and *Du cuer je souspier*, the English figure becomes more integrated into the contrapuntal language and is used in a greater variety of contexts.

Mitchell is one of the few scholars, apart from Gottlieb, to have discussed *Du cuer je souspier* at length. Whilst he argued for a Franco-Burgundian origin for the Mass, a possibility to which the discussion will later return, he also noted several interesting similarities between this Mass and English practice.

Mitchell compares the lack of 'drive-devices' in the triple-time sections of *Du cuer je souspier* and the *Caput Mass*. Gottlieb also notes this particular stylistic element within the *Du cuer je souspier Mass*, stating that '[t]he melody displays a certain discursiveness – a tendency in certain phrases to place longer note values at the end, so that the melodic momentum is dissipated gradually, rather than climactically.'⁴⁹ As Mitchell notes, the use of longer voices in the contratenor in triple-time sections supports this stately feel – another feature in common with the *Caput Mass*.⁵⁰

The harmonic language of this Mass is perhaps its most unusual feature. Gottlieb notes that '[e]verything concerning accidentals and key signatures is so extraordinary in this [m]ass that it should not be taken as a basis for general conclusions.'⁵¹ Quite what this means for our discussion of provenance is unclear, since the Mass is so experimental in its harmonic language as to be unusual for both the English and the continental repertories. Despite this, Mitchell notes that the frequent use of 6-5 progressions gives this Mass a flavour of English style.⁵²

Many of the harmonic problems in *Du cuer je souspier* are caused by applying *ficta* to solve other contrapuntal problems. This is precisely the case in the second case study of this chapter, the *Thomas cesus Mass*. What sets this Mass apart from *Thomas cesus* is the additional problems

⁴⁹ Gottlieb (1958), 58.

⁵⁰ *The Trent 89 Equal-Voice Mass*, Chapter X, *Missa Du cuer je souspier*, 5.

⁵¹ Gottlieb (1958), 58.

⁵² *The Trent 89 Equal-Voice Mass*, Chapter X, *Missa Du cuer je souspier*, 5.

created by the tenor line. Indeed, as Mitchell notes, the tenor works only 'on paper' since there is no way to resolve the contradictions caused by its transposition.⁵³ It seems to be impossible to apply *ficta* consistently to the tenor in each movement without needing to apply far too much *ficta* in the outer voices. A similar problem is found in the *Te deum* Mass from the same manuscript.

Mitchell has drawn attention to the similarities between these two Masses, noting the following points:⁵⁴

1. Both Masses use short, unelaborated *cantus firmi* which are repeated in each movement subdivision.
2. In both Masses, verbal canons indicate the Tenor's correct performance manner.
3. In both Masses, the Tenor is an internal voice and is subject to augmentation (though only the first sections are augmented in the *Missa De cuer*).
4. Both cycles make use of only two basic textures. The *Missa Te deum* has full sections and trio passages, and the *Missa De cuer* has full sections and duet passages. Also, in neither Mass are there specifically scored reduced-voice sections in which the Tenor is silent.
5. Neither cycle makes particularly strong use of motto unification.
6. In both cycles, section-endings and cadences are a stronger common point than motto openings.
7. Both have partwriting which is unconventional.
8. In both Masses the first Contra is the voice with the greatest overall range – partly due to the fact that in both cycles the Tenor is often in extended values.
9. Both Masses make use of unusual accidentalism [the unusual application of manuscript accidentals, or implied *ficta*] (though the *Missa De cuer* is more noteworthy in this respect).

It is for these reasons, in part, that Mitchell suggests Franco-Burgundian origin for the *Du cuer je souspier* Mass.

⁵³ Mitchell (2003), X. *Missa De cuer je soupier*, 2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

Many of the points regarding the similarity of the two Masses are valid, but these features are often shared by other Masses too.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the differences seem greater than the similarities. On a purely structural, formal and textual level, the Masses are extraordinarily different. The *Du cuer je souspier* Mass is almost quintessentially English and the *Te deum* Mass almost quintessentially continental. The only English element of the *Te deum* Mass is its strictly applied mensural plan and the fairly strictly applied textural plan. In contrast, *Du cuer je souspier* follows a mensural scheme not used in any band II English Mass and a bischematic textural plan that is found only in Masses of apparently part-continental and part-English origin. Due to this, *Te deum* and *Du cuer je souspier* have almost nothing in common structurally.

Mitchell's final argument for Franco-Burgundian origin is numerological. The number 31, the number of members of the Burgundian order of the Golden Fleece, seems to have some significance for the Mass. The total number of written notes in the tenor of the Kyrie and Gloria is 31. The total number of notes in the second section of the Gloria is 713 (31 x 23), and the total number of breves the first-section first contratenor of the same movement is also 31. Finally, including final longs, the total number of outer-voice notes in this movement is 967. Divide this figure by 31 (the number of actual written Kyrie tenor notes)

⁵⁵ For example, the Standley *Ad fugam* Mass utilises verbal canon in a similar way. The 'Two Kyries' Mass likewise alternates between only two textures. The use of the tenor as an internal voice is absolutely normal and the use of plainchant in augmentation also has many other examples.

and the result is 31.19.⁵⁶ These calculations rest on the selection of appropriate voices, sections and note types to give these numbers. Whilst the number 31 may have some special relevance to the Mass, it seems best to be cautious about drawing too many far-reaching conclusions from this point.

Conclusions

Du cuer je souspier is a particularly unusual Mass. In terms of structure, form and texting, it seems to be quintessentially English. The Mass follows the English manner of structuring a prosula Kyrie in every single way. Moreover, the Credo is telescoped, something that occurs only in English and closely related continental Masses. Finally, the Mass follows English practice in terms of mensural divisions in the Agnus Dei, conforms strictly to a mensural plan, and has equal length for the Kyrie and Agnus and the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus – something clearly reminiscent of *Salve sancta parens*.

Perhaps the most unusual element of the Mass is the presence of some rather antiquated features. The use of the mensuration C in the tenor against a prevailing mensuration of O is absolutely unheard of for band II English Masses but very normal in the band I repertory. Indeed, the mensural scheme of this Mass is identical to Power's *Alma redemptoris mater* Mass (M43). The use of the flagged semiminim in the

⁵⁶ *The Trent 89 Equal-Voice Mass*, Chapter X, *Missa Du cuer je souspier*, 8.

tenor against coloured semiminims in the other voices is another clear band I feature.

Thomas cesus also utilises a bischematic textural plan. In chapter 3, it was argued that the presence of a bischematic textural groundplan might be evidence of a transitional phase between band I and band II. It also seems particularly common in those Masses that blur the boundary between English and continental Mass cycles.

Further, the type of bischematic plan used in *Du cuer je souspier*, which links the outer movements of the cycle, is completely unheard of in band I English Masses. Only two other Masses utilise this type of bischematicism, Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) and the anonymous *Thomas cesus* (M52). The first of these Masses, though English, is clearly influenced by continental style whilst, as will be shown below, the second is likely by a continental composer working for an English institution in Europe. Might the *Du cuer je souspier* Mass therefore have a similarly mixed provenance?

If *Du cuer je souspier* were composed by an English composer working on the continent, then this may explain the elements indebted to the band I repertory within a Mass that uses a 'post-*Caput*' texture. The Mass does not seem to be a transitional (band Ib) composition, despite the probably fairly old *cantus firmus*. Perhaps the best example of a transitional Mass seems to be *Salve sancta parens* (M21); and *Du cuer je souspier* has little in common with this work, other than the aforementioned movement lengths. It is altogether a more competent

composition – one clearly conceived originally for four voices and that handles the application of its textural groundplan in a much more subtle way.

In terms of source distribution, it was first copied into Tr89, ten years after *Salve sancta parens* first reached the continent. There is no guarantee that *Du cuer je souspier* was a new Mass when it was copied into Tr89, of course. However, it does seem like a work of the late 1450s. Whilst some of the harmony and part-writing is indeed unusual and perhaps experimental, this seems more likely to have been caused by the successive modulations of the tenor in its role as a middle voice, rather than unfamiliarity with a new texture.

The cycle also uses some English motifs. Particularly, the 'English figure' is presented in coloration and integrated into the more general contrapuntal language in a manner which clearly recalls the *Caput* Mass. Moreover, the use of imitation recalls both the works of Frye and of Plummer without ever approaching the more general style of either.

Du cuer je souspier is not easily categorised as English or continental, since it has much in common with both repertories, including several outmoded English elements. It may be by an English composer, active there during band I, but later working in Franco-Burgundian lands. This may explain the links to the Order of the Golden Fleece noted by Mitchell and also the setting of a *lai* found in a source from Dijon. A composer such as Morton therefore makes an excellent candidate. However, it would be overly incautious (to say the least) to attempt to

make an attribution to him – not least since no sacred music of his survives with which to compare it.

6.1: The *Thomas cesus* Mass (M52)

The *Thomas cesus* Mass occupies an unusual position within current scholarship. On one hand, it is considered quite probably English,⁵⁷ whilst, on the other, it has been attributed to Caron.⁵⁸ In this case study, both positions will be argued against.

The provenance of this cycle may take on additional significance if, as Wegman has argued, it is the earliest continental Mass to follow the four-voice '*Caput* texture'.⁵⁹ It could be argued that this is itself indicative of English provenance. Instead, it is here argued to be indicative of an English context for the composition of this continental cycle.

The argument for English provenance

The use of a *cantus prius factus* suitable for an English saint is often seen as indicative of possible English origin. Whilst English saints such as Thomas Becket and John of Bridlington were originally venerated more locally, they were later celebrated abroad, by English travellers who kept their insular devotional patterns. English saints were also venerated by institutions that felt an affinity for the saint, for reasons not connected to

⁵⁷ Strohm cited in Reynolds (1981), 285, n. 43.

⁵⁸ Reynolds (1995), 203–27.

⁵⁹ Rob Wegman, 'Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus Almus* and the Early History of the Four-Voice Mass in the Fifteenth Century', *EMH*, 10 (1991), 276.

his or her nationality. As a result, there are many artworks depicting English saints that are of demonstrably continental origin, for which the circumstances of production may or may not be linked to contact with England.⁶⁰

For Mass cycles based on plainchant for English saints, this problem is compounded by the same issues of determining provenance that afflict much fifteenth-century English music. There are, however, other features, such as the presence of Sarum chant, which increase the likelihood of English provenance.⁶¹

During the fifteenth century, the two English saints to be venerated in Mass cycles are Thomas Becket and John of Bridlington. Three works survive for Thomas Becket, a Sanctus (S59) and a fragmentary cycle (M42), both band I and based on *Jacet granum*, and a band II cycle based on *Thomas cesus* (M52). John of Bridlington has only one surviving Mass, *Quem malignus spiritus* (M6), which is also band II. Of these three Masses,⁶² all but *Thomas cesus* are of certain English provenance.

Perhaps the most obvious argument for the English provenance of *Thomas cesus* therefore is that, if it were not English, it would represent the only surviving continental Mass cycle for an English saint. However, Thomas Becket was widely venerated abroad and there are more

⁶⁰ See, for instance, the c.12th altarpiece from Lyngsjö church, Skåne in Sweden which shows the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket.

⁶¹ Hamm (1968), 57.

⁶² Or perhaps four, if the Sanctus was once a part of a larger cycle.

surviving continental copies of his rhymed office than English ones.⁶³ This is perhaps unsurprising. In September 1538, Henry VIII had Thomas Becket's shrine in Canterbury demolished and declared him a traitor who would no longer 'be esteemed, named, reputed ... [nor] called a saint, but bishop Becket'. His feast day was abolished and it was ordered that 'the service, office, antiphones, collects and prayers in his name shall not be read, but razed and put out of all the books.'⁶⁴

Few Sarum chant sources survive and those that do generally have had references to Thomas Becket removed. An example is the Wollaton Antiphonal in which first page of the office is crossed through, since it shared a folio with the end of the feast of innocents.⁶⁵ The folios containing the rest of the office have been removed. The survival of more continental sources of the office is surely more indicative of the peculiar circumstances of its survival than of its relative currency in each area. It is clear, however, that English origin cannot necessarily be assumed for a Mass for Thomas Becket since chants for Becket were readily available on the continent.

The presence of the Sarum version of a chant increases the likelihood of English origin significantly. It is suggestive of the work having been conceived in a Sarum context by a composer with access to

⁶³ Strohm in Reynolds (1981), 285, n. 43.

⁶⁴ Sherry L. Reames 'Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket', *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 120.

⁶⁵ The office begins on f.52v, which has been crossed out. Ff.53-4, containing the rest of the office, have been removed.

Sarum chant books.⁶⁶ However, Strohm has suggested that there may be links between the Sarum and Tournai liturgies and therefore a higher degree of correspondence between chants from these two rites.⁶⁷ As shown in chapter 1, one of the main areas for Anglo-European cultural exchange was Burgundy, a significant number of English Masses can be found in Burgundian sources (the Brussels and Lucca Choirbooks) and many of the earliest continental imitators of English style worked in Burgundian lands. A continental imitator of English style utilising a Tournai chant for Thomas Becket may therefore be relatively indistinguishable from an English composer utilising Sarum chant.

The *Thomas cesus* Mass takes a part of *Mundi florem*, the seventh responsory for Matins, as its *cantus firmus*.⁶⁸ Before any conclusion can be drawn about the provenance of the *cantus firmus*, the surviving plainchant sources of the chant must be evaluated. Reinhard Strohm's own investigation, in which he compared some continental versions of the chant, proposed the version in Lübeck Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Ms. theol. lat. 2° 6 as closest.⁶⁹ Strohm states that this source is probably of

⁶⁶ This said, Ockeghem's *Caput Mass* does utilise Sarum chant. There are obvious reasons for this, since it borrows from an English model. However, it is entirely possible that there are other examples of the same phenomenon.

⁶⁷ Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 247.

⁶⁸ This is a point of contact with the *Caput Masses*, since the *cantus firmus* in these does not come from the beginning of the chant.

⁶⁹ Strohm gives the siglum for this manuscript as 'Lübeck MS 2°6'. The manuscript has undergone remarkably little study and was unknown to the Becket Project. Correspondence with the Lübeck Archive confirms that the manuscript is catalogued as Lübeck Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Ms. theol. lat. 2° 6.

Hanseatic-Flemish origin,⁷⁰ but believes the source of the *cantus firmus* to be from an as yet undiscovered Sarum source. This thesis clearly supports this claim. The four Sarum sources consulted here are very similar to the *cantus firmus* and show almost no divergence in secular and monastic Sarum traditions over several centuries. The Sarum chants are slightly closer to the *cantus firmus* than the Lübeck chant.

Whilst the *cantus firmus* does not correspond exactly to the Sarum chant, the cycle uses heavy paraphrase, altering the *cantus firmus* for each iteration. Further, the third section of each movement is an exceptionally free paraphrase of the first section of the *cantus firmus*. Due to this level of paraphrase, the correspondence seems close enough to confirm Sarum origin.

By comparison, continental versions are extremely divergent – both from each other and from the *cantus firmus*. The closest variant is from a very early Parisian source, which generally follows the Sarum use, but with notable differences of pitch at key points. As they become more chronologically distant from the presumably Sarum original, the continental versions become more divergent. Edinburgh 123, used as the ‘base chant’ for continental versions of the Becket office by the Becket Project due to its similarity to the majority of continental sources,⁷¹ gives

⁷⁰ Strohm in Reynolds (1981), 285, n. 43.

⁷¹ Kate Helsen from The Becket Project has been extremely generous with her time during the course of this study of the Becket Office. The Becket Project website is currently offline.

an entirely different and very lengthy melisma not found in the *cantus firmus*.

The most common continental version of this chant, therefore, is very different from the *cantus firmus*. Further, the very many different continental versions of this chant are all divergent in various ways from the stable Sarum tradition. The least divergent continental versions come from Carmelite sources, as will be discussed below.

A comparison of the various chant sources and the *cantus firmus* is given in appendix 14.1. Appendix 14.2 compares the *cantus firmus*, a representative Sarum version and the Lübeck source that was the closest found by Strohm.

Formal, structural and textual evidence

The formal, structural and textual evidence given in chapters 4 and 5 suggested that *Thomas cesius* was a continental Mass, influenced by English practice. The Kyrie follows the usual structure only if it uses the purely continental mensuration C . Moreover, the very fact that it is a non-prosula Kyrie is highly indicative of continental provenance, since Becket's feast would have used the prosula text *Orbis factor* in the Sarum rite.⁷² All English Mass cycles from this period with sacred *cantus firmi* have full prosula Kyries. Conversely, those without a prosula text appear generally

⁷² Walter Frere, *The Use of Sarum: The Original Texts Edited from the MSS, Vol 2. The Ordinal and Tonal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), 207.

to be either *Sine nomine* Masses or based on secular *cantus firmi*.⁷³

Interestingly, some Masses with curtailed prosula Kyries appear to be *Sine nomine* Masses but others have sacred *cantus firmi*.

The Mass also departs from its mensural scheme in two movements – an excellent indicator of continental origin. As shown in chapter 5, this level of departure from a mensural scheme occurs in no securely English cycles, the only parallel being the highly unusual *Veni creator spiritus* (M39), which also seems unlikely to be English. Another continental feature is the small number of lines omitted in the Credo especially since those omitted are precisely those frequently absent in continental cycles. Indeed, the only element suggestive of English provenance is the position of the mensural division in the Agnus Dei.

Clearly, there is little about this cycle, other than its *cantus firmus*, that seems particularly English. However, it does share some features with other Masses that blur the boundary between the English and continental repertories; for instance, its bischematic groundplan. In general, these are used in cycles that fall between the two repertories. This is especially the case for those that, as in *Thomas cesus*, link the outer and inner movements of the cycle. Only two other cycles do this, *Du cuer je souspier* and Bedyngnam's *Sine nomine*. As shown in 6.1, *Du cuer je souspier* seems most likely to have been composed by an English

⁷³ The two anonymous Lucca *Sine nomine* Masses (M46 and M49) and the 'Two Kyries' Mass (M50) do not seem to follow this rule. Perhaps these Masses do have *cantus firmi* that are as yet undiscovered. Strohm suggests that the Lucca *Sine nomine* Mass (M49) paraphrases a chant for St Andrew (FCLM, VI, 98). Further research may unearth a *cantus firmus* in the other two examples.

composer on the continent (or in some other related context), whilst Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* also has clear evidence of continental influence.

Before proceeding to a discussion of a context for the use of a Sarum chant in a continental cycle such as this, the arguments for Caron's authorship must be discussed.⁷⁴

Firminus Caron and *Thomas cesus*

Whilst *Thomas cesus* clearly utilises the Sarum version of its chant *cantus firmus*, the structural and textural evidence points towards a continental origin, heavily influenced by English composers. However, Christopher Reynolds has recently attributed the Mass to Caron. If true, the circumstances of Caron having access to this Sarum chant must be questioned. This would also suggest an entirely new context for the composer as an early and important imitator of English style.

Reynolds bases his argument for Caron's authorship on four interrelated arguments:⁷⁵ firstly, he suggests the Mass was composed for a particular event in fifteenth-century Rome; secondly, he notes melodic similarities between this Mass and other works by Caron; thirdly, he suggests similarities in mensural handling between this Mass and other Caron Masses; and finally, he argues that Caron was present in Rome and

⁷⁴ It must be noted that the Caron *l'homme armé* Mass actually has one of the mensural changes in the Agnus occurring at a point more usual in the English repertory. Despite this, there is relatively little else to suggest English influence in his works.

⁷⁵ Reynolds (1995), 203–27.

that portraits of him can be found next to some of his works in SPB80. Each of these arguments shall be evaluated in turn.

Proposed Roman origin

Reynolds draws links between the figure of Thomas Palaeologus, heir to the throne of Constantinople, and the biblical passage referred to in the *cantus firmus*. One of two surviving brothers of the last emperor of Constantinople, Thomas Palaeologus makes a fitting comparison with the story of Cain and Abel. He was attacked by troops belonging to his brother, before being forced into exile after an attack by Mehmed II of Turkey. After fleeing to Italy, he was welcomed by the Pope and granted the Golden Rose as a token of esteem, in return for having brought a great relic, the head of St Andrew. As Reynolds notes, Thomas Palaeologus' entry into Rome in 1461 was during the feast of Thomas Aquinas, despite Palaeologus having been in Italy for several months before this. Reynolds suggests that the three Thomases were linked symbolically in this event. In this way, Thomas Palaeologus becomes a "new Abel", victim of a "new Cain", his entrance celebrated by a symbolically appropriate Mass for Thomas of Canterbury, and celebrated on the feast of Thomas Aquinas.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Reynolds (1995), 204–8.

Reynolds suggests that this context explains the text omissions in the Credo – the ‘Filioque’ clause being the cause of much disagreement between Constantinople and Rome. He notes that this argument owes much to the work of Ruth Hannas,⁷⁷ which is discussed at greater length in chapter 5. Reynolds does note that Hannas’ work has been ‘rightly qualified’,⁷⁸ but still argues that, in this case, Hannas’ explanation for the removal of particular sections of text seems relevant. Given the findings in chapter 5, this assertion should be questioned. The particular sections omitted in *Thomas cesus* are clearly those most frequently omitted in continental cycles. This is not an unusual element that requires explanation by means of extra-musical connections, but rather the norm for a mid-fifteenth-century continental Mass cycle.

Reynolds also relates the three Thomases to the unusual key signature of a single $b\flat$ in the contratenor.⁷⁹ He notes a possible symbolic meaning of the flatted part related to the oration on Thomas Aquinas preached by Lorenzo Valla in 1457. Valla, extending a musical metaphor over church theologians ‘assigned to Aquinas and John of Damascus the extraordinary role of the fifth tetrachord, a complex allusion to the

⁷⁷ Hannas (1952), 155–86.

⁷⁸ Reynolds (1995), 208.

⁷⁹ Partial signatures – those that do not apply the same accidentals to every voice – are absolutely the norm. The application of a $b\flat$ only in the contratenor is very rare, however. Old Hall contains many examples of Masses with single $b\flat$ key signatures, but these are in the tenor. The single example with precisely the same key signature to be discovered so far is a secular French song of the fourteenth century, *Joieux de cuer* by Solage in Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047.

Boethian double octave and the greater perfect system.⁸⁰ Reynolds notes that '[s]ince the four tetrachords of the Boethian double octave (A to D, D to G, and so on) do not account for the note $b\flat$, a fifth tetra-chord is necessary, the synemmenon tetrachord (a, $b\flat$, c, d). This fifth tetrachord is not an extension of the Boethian double octave but a refinement, an internal reordering of intervals.'⁸¹ According to Reynolds, this 'internal reordering' to give the $b\flat$ in the contratenor of *Thomas cesus* may be a symbolic link to Thomas Aquinas.

Perhaps this key signature does require an explanation. However, this could be purely musical. As seen in *Du cuer je souspier*, experimentation with *ficta* and signatures is quite normal. Moreover, it could be the result of scribal action rather than compositional choice. The Tik *Sine nomine* cycle (M35) is a good example, since it displays different key signatures in its two surviving versions.

Reynolds also suggests that Thomas may be spelt out in the solmisation syllables *sol /a* since, in the B section of the *cantus firmus*, the first two notes (C-D=sol-la in the soft hexachord) are emphasised by being broken off from the rest of the chant by several rests.⁸² Using solmisation to encode the name of a dedicatee is nothing new (though not truly widespread until slightly later), but the reference may simply be to Thomas Becket. There seems to be no other example of dedication to a

⁸⁰ Reynolds (1995), 209

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., 211.

saint in this form, however, and dedication to a non-saintly patron seems more likely. Solmisation is not entirely specific and this could refer to any word including 'o' and 'a', in that order.⁸³ Dedicatory solmisation syllables are, however, more commonly found in more easily recognisable positions than the middle of a Mass.

Whilst the interpretation of the partial key signature and the presence of solmisation do not seem entirely convincing, the occasion for which Reynolds suggests the Mass may have been produced does seem a distinct possibility. However, Reynolds' previous argument that SPB80 was copied from two earlier exemplars must be considered. *Thomas cesus* is found in the section copied from the 1458 exemplar. This predates the entry of Palaeologus into Rome by three years. Reynolds' explanation of this is important as it opens an alternative explanation, to which the discussion will return later.

Archival evidence shows that, in 1461, the singer Fraxinis (or Guilelmo de Francia) copied additional works into the manuscript mainly copied in 1458.⁸⁴ Since *Thomas cesus* is the last cycle in the first fascicle of SPB80, it may have occupied the same position in the manuscript from which it was copied and have been one of these later additions. There is no way to be certain since relatively little is known about the preservation of copying orders from one manuscript to another. However, since this is

⁸³ A good example is the subsequent reprinting of Josquin's *Hercules Dux Ferrariae* Mass. In many of these reprints, other dedicatees whose names and titles fit the same succession of solmisation vowels are interpolated into the dedicatory opening.

⁸⁴ Reynolds (1981), 283–4.

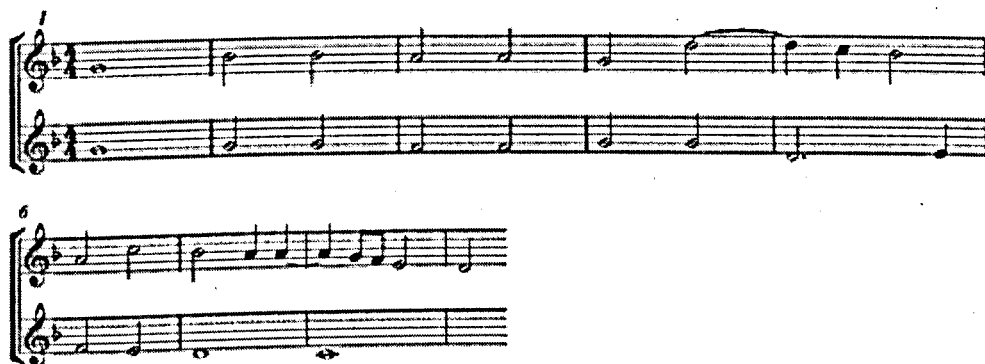
the only four-voice Mass in this section it is surely a later composition, especially given that the earliest continental four-voice cycle (discounting this Mass) is copied c.1460.⁸⁵

The identity of Fraxinis is an issue to which the discussion will return later. For now, in terms of dating, Reynolds' explanation of the possible circumstances surrounding the composition of the Mass does seem possible, even if not entirely probable.

Melodic material

Reynolds notes that the Mass appears to quote extensively from the Caron chanson *Le despourveu infortunée* (ex. 22).⁸⁶

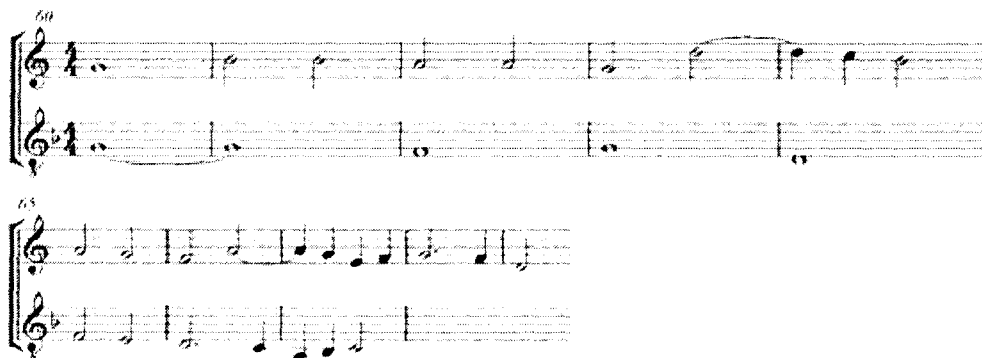
Ex. 22a: Caron's *Le despourveu infortunée*, bb. 1–9 (taken from Reynolds (1995))



⁸⁵ Wegman (1991), 276.

⁸⁶ Reynolds (1995), 211–12.

Ex. 22b: *Thomas cesus*, Gloria, bb. 60–9⁸⁷ (taken from Reynolds (1995))



Ex. 22c: *Thomas cesus*, Credo, bb. 81–91⁸⁸ (taken from Reynolds (1995))



Ex. 22d: *Le despourveu infortunée*, bb. 4–11⁸⁹ (taken from Reynolds (1995))



He suggests that the text of this chanson provides another link between the context of the Mass and Thomas Palaeologus. Reynolds suggests that the text (given below) is particularly resonant with the circumstances of Thomas Palaeologus' exile.

The unfortunate deprived one,
Incessantly surrounded
By grief, regrets, and tears,

⁸⁷ Reynolds omits the key signature and correct clef from this example.

⁸⁸ Reynolds omits the *ficta* from this example.

⁸⁹ Reynolds omits the *ficta* from this example.

I find myself shut out from any succour,
And abandoned to all evil.

I am piteously rewarded
And very badly cared for;
Fortune by her evil turns makes me
The unfortunate deprived one, etc.

More than anyone else I am badly dealt with,
For Hope has turned its back on me;
So my situation goes contrarily along.
I can with reason blame Love,
When he appointed me to be
The unfortunate deprived one, etc.⁹⁰

He notes that the allusion to the chanson melody at the *Qui tollis* may be a plea for mercy on behalf of 'the unfortunate one deprived' and that, in the *Et incarnatus*, it could be seen as 'a statement of Palaeologus's personal fate: "And he was incarnate the unfortunate deprived one."⁹¹ Further, he suggests that this extensive quotation implies Caron as the composer of the Mass.

There are a number of issues with this. Firstly, the quotations themselves are not exact (that is, not an exact pitch field) owing to the different key signatures in each case. If ex. 22a is compared with 22b and 22c with 22d, it is clear that the B \sharp in *Thomas cesus* drastically changes the melodic profile, and this may well preclude identifying the two with one another. The fifteenth-century singer or listener might not have found this apparent divergence problematic, since the wholesale application of *ficta* can make the given key signature less prescriptive, and less crucial

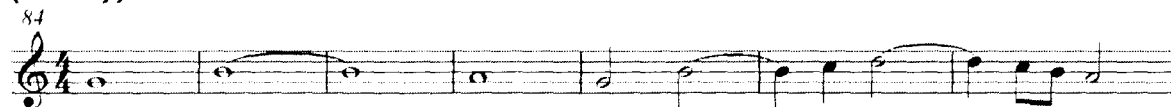
⁹⁰ Reynolds (1995), 211–12.

⁹¹ Ibid., 212.

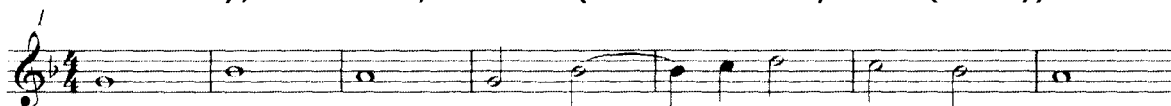
for identity, than in modern notation. The question is finely weighted. On balance, it seems not fully plausible to identify this as a case of citation.

Secondly, as Reynolds notes, the Mass appears to quote from a song by the Franco-Flemish composer Gilles Joye,⁹² in the following passage:

Ex. 23a: *Thomas cesus*, Sanctus, bb. 84–90 (taken from Reynolds (1995))



Ex. 23b: *Mercy, mon dueil*, bb. 1–7 (taken from Reynolds (1995))



The likelihood of a quotation here is again called into question by the difference of key-signature. It also raises the question of why Reynolds assigns the Mass to Caron rather than Joye, even if the quotations from the former are indeed larger. Further, Reynolds has demonstrated that many of Caron's Masses display extensive quotations from Pullois. For these Masses, he suggests that the quotations are an act of respect, rather than a marker of authorship. Extending this argument, it could be argued that *Thomas cesus* was written by Pullois and that the extensive quotations of Caron were a reciprocal gesture of respect. Whilst this is perhaps a step too far, it underlines the point that quotation is not necessarily indicative of shared authorship.

⁹² Reynolds (1995), 212.

More problematic is Reynolds' tendency to suggest that extremely common melodic motifs are indicative of Caron's authorship. He notes that the same melody opens the *Pleni* of *Thomas cesus* and the *Benedictus* of Caron's *Clemens et benigna*.⁹³ This melody is actually precisely the same motto opening discussed in 6.1 ex. 1. It is clearly not a hallmark of Caron's style but rather an obvious allusion to English practice. Reynolds also notes that this motif opens the Kyrie of *Thomas cesus* – a position much more indicative of English provenance/influence than the previous example – and makes a direct comparison between this opening and the opening of the Kyrie of Caron's *Sanguis* Mass.

Ex. 24a: *Thomas cesus*, Kyrie I (taken from Reynolds (1995))



Ex. 24b: *Thomas cesus*, Christe I (taken from Reynolds (1995))



Ex. 24c: *Thomas cesus*, Kyrie II (taken from Reynolds (1995))



Ex. 24d: Caron's *Sanguis* Mass, Kyrie I⁹⁴ (taken from Reynolds (1995))



Ex. 24e: Caron's *Sanguis* Mass, Christe I (taken from Reynolds (1995))



Ex. 24f: Caron's *Sanguis* Mass, Kyrie II (taken from Reynolds (1995))



⁹³ Reynolds (1995), 217–18.

⁹⁴ Reynolds omits *ficta* from this example.

The closest comparison here is clearly between the *Christe* sections, but even this is unconvincing. Instead of a link between *Thomas cesus* and Caron's *Sanguis* Mass, this example only demonstrates a closer identity with English style for *Thomas cesus* than for the Caron Mass.

The suggestion that the use of partial key signatures, which occur often in Caron's work, is indicative of Caron's authorship for *Thomas cesus* is similarly flawed.⁹⁵ This is absolutely normal in the fifteenth century. Further, it is not the partial key signature that is unusual in *Thomas cesus*, but its occurrence only in the contratenor altus – a key signature never used by Caron.

Reynolds also notes that the succession of mensurations used in *Thomas cesus* is consistent with those found in Caron.⁹⁶ However, as discussed in chapter 5, the mensural scheme in this Mass is absolutely standard for continental Mass cycles. Reynolds even notes that the *Agnus* departs from Caron's usual mensural tendencies – though it clearly fits general continental practice.

According to Reynolds, Caron also has a tendency to pair the *Gloria* and *Credo* and the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* as two separate units.⁹⁷ He further notes how the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*, in particular, are paired in *Thomas cesus*. The presence of a bischematic pairing of movements in this Mass was discussed in chapter 5, though the focus there was on the textural

⁹⁵ Reynolds (1995), 212.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 213–14.

pairing of the outer movements against the inner movements – something that seems indicative of mixed English/continental provenance. Pairing of the Gloria and Credo and the Sanctus and Agnus as two separate units through motivic elements, as Reynolds suggests, would seem more indicative of the influence of band Ib English Mass cycles. Either way, this is by no means unique to Caron even if it is interesting that traces of bischematicism appear in later Caron Masses.

In general, the elements noted by Reynolds do not seem to amount to anything like conclusive proof of Caron's authorship. The final argument which Reynolds makes is related to manuscript evidence, which, he suggests, is indicative of Caron having been present in Rome.

Caron in Rome

Reynolds suggests that Caron must have been active in Rome, partly due to the aforementioned quotations from Pullois (known to have been in Rome) and because of the frequency of his music in Italian sources.⁹⁸ However, Pullois was active in Burgundian lands both before and after his time in Rome. The significance of Caron's work appearing in Italian sources seems overstated also since, as Fallows notes, there is a general lack of fifteenth-century French sources and so much French music appears in Italian sources.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Reynolds (1995), 221–8.

⁹⁹ David Fallows, 'Caron, Firminus' in *NGD*.

Reynolds notes also that the single ascription in SPB80 is to Caron.¹⁰⁰ However, if the single ascription to Caron was dependent on his links to the manuscript, as Reynolds suggests, then why would the two other Masses apparently by Caron (one being *Thomas cesus*) remain unascribed? The presence of portraits in the initial of the *L'homme armé* Mass in both SPB80 and Rvat 14¹⁰¹ seems inconclusive, too. Whilst it is interesting that both Masses contain portraits (which are, crucially, notably different), there is nothing to suggest that either portrait may be of Caron.

Reynolds' arguments have been key in shifting the focus of scholarship on this Mass away from English provenance. However, there are elements that seem less convincing. Many of the points that he links to the arrival of John Palaeologus in Rome seem common features of Renaissance repertoire. Indeed, the only unusual element that may require explanation is the key signature of a single flat in the contratenor altus. However, this does not occur in every movement and may be a scribal peculiarity. On its own, it certainly does not seem sufficient to support a link with such a specific context.

We perhaps should not reject an attribution to Caron offhand. There is admittedly little about the Mass that says it cannot be by him, but there seems equally little that suggests it is. Quotations from another work within a Mass do not necessarily indicate shared authorship and there are

¹⁰⁰ Reynolds, (1995), 221.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 221–2.

many such examples, involving Binchois and English works, discussed in 6.1. However, these quotations may suggest that the composer of *Thomas cesus* had access to continental works. This may be indicative of continental origin for the work, or of composition by an English composer on the continent. However, given the reservations about the allegedly one-way direction of musical influence between England and the continent noted in chapter 1, this point should not be overstated. Bedyngham's *Dueil angoisseux* Mass clearly stands as testament to the dangers of this.

The structural features that Reynolds notes as particularly similar to the works of Caron are widespread within the repertory. Indeed, some of the elements are more indicative of a continental composer other than Caron. Finally, the melodic similarity drawn between the opening of *Thomas cesus* and one of Caron's cycles is not convincing and serves only to demonstrate the presence of an opening motif heavily indebted to English practice.

What is still unclear is why the composer of *Thomas cesus*, working in Rome, chose to set the Sarum version of *Mundi florem* as the *cantus firmus*. The context of this Mass must surely rest, therefore, on composition within an English institution or a continental institution utilising Sarum chant. This does not rule out Reynolds' suggestion that the Mass was performed for Thomas Palaeologus. Even if the Mass were composed elsewhere it could have been used in Rome for this event. Two

plausible contexts for the composition of this cycle will be shown, one relating to composition outside of Rome and the other specifically Roman.

A new continental context for *Thomas cesus*

Prior to Reynolds' argument for Roman origin, Strohm argued that the section of six Masses from which the *Thomas cesus* Mass originates may have been brought to Rome from Bruges by the singers Fraxinis, Maes, Raes and/or Rosa.¹⁰² Certainly, the only attributed Mass from this section is by Petrus de Domarto, known to have been in Bruges. However, in every case other than Fraxinis, it appears that the singers did not reach Rome until after the first set of Masses was already in the earlier Roman source and, in the case of Johannes Raes, until after the copying of SPB80 itself. It is possible that Fraxinis, if indeed he is the papal singer Johannes Fraccinis, may have brought the work to Rome in 1448 or 1451 when he was present in the city; yet it is clear that there was less exchange of singers between the two cities at an appropriate date than has previously been suggested. The fact that the singer in question can now be only Fraxinis may actually provide a clearer argument that the Mass was originally from Bruges. As noted earlier, it is Fraxinis who is believed to have copied the Mass (c.1461) as an addition into the 1458 exemplar of SPB80.

¹⁰² Strohm (1985), 142.

A link with Bruges provides a sensible context for the composition of a continental Mass, with elements of English style, and utilising Sarum chant. The English Merchant Adventurers, also known as the confraternity of St Thomas Becket, had a chapel within the Carmelite Priory in Bruges and would certainly have needed a large-scale Mass for Thomas Becket. This Mass would surely need a prosula Kyrie, however, if composed for an English institution. Every festal cycle in the Lucca Choirbook includes one and the feast of Thomas Becket required the prosula text *Orbis factor*.

Interestingly, chant sources of the Carmelite order, which played host to the Merchant Adventurers in Bruges, preserve versions of the Becket office that are closer to the Sarum office than other continental sources. The Carmelite sources shown in appendix 14 are Kraków 2 and 5. The earlier of these (Kraków 2), from the end of the fourteenth century, is close to the Sarum version with minor departures. Kraków 5, produced at Kraków priory in the fifteenth century to replace Kraków 2, follows the Sarum version almost exactly, effectively correcting the departures in the earlier version.

Whether the influence of the English chapel had an effect on the celebration of the Carmelite rite, especially for saints of English provenance, is hard to judge. What seems clear is that they are the only continental order which can be shown to have used the *Mundi florem* chant in the version used in the *Thomas cesus* Mass. This, combined with

the Confraternity of St Thomas Becket having had an English chapel in the Carmelite Priory at Bruges, appears highly suggestive.

There is, however, a simpler solution to the context of this Mass. As discussed in chapter 1, there was a large group of English citizens living in Rome throughout the fifteenth century, in a situation comparable to that of Bruges. It seems likely that this institution had the provision for polyphony, and it certainly celebrated the feast of St Thomas Becket every December.

This seems a perfect context for the *Thomas cesus Mass*. Despite its obvious English influence, the Mass seems closer to continental practices, perhaps suggesting authorship by a continental composer writing for an English institution on the continent. Continentals were certainly involved in the English confraternity in Rome, so this is not overly problematic. Indeed, this context may help to explain why a cycle that utilises Sarum plainchant did not utilise a prosula Kyrie. The fact that the confraternity was in Rome may well have led to a lesser tolerance of Sarum practices than in other areas. As discussed in chapter 1, special dispensation was granted for the use of English practices on the continent in other regions, but it seems entirely possible that this would have been accepted to a lesser degree in Rome.

It could be argued that such an English institution in Rome would have left more of a trace. The parallel example of the Merchant Adventurers in Bruges has left the remnants of a vast choirbook, and it

could be questioned why a similar institution in Rome would have left only a single work, albeit a work with particular resonance for the institution. Of course, absence of evidence does not equal evidence of absence. Further, it seems that there are several other works in SPB80 that have an English context. The most obvious is the 'Two Kyries' Mass (M50). This cycle is clearly English but has been emended in the most unusual ways in SPB80. Perhaps the unique manner of dividing the Kyrie into two works is a product of the unusual situation in Rome with an English institution perhaps more constrained than usual.

The Le Rouge *So ys emprentid* Mass also appears in this manuscript. Whilst it is clearly not English, it has an obvious English context. It is one of the most English of all the continental cycles but, crucially, it does not use a prosula Kyrie. Therefore, this Mass is another example with an exceptionally English character that does not challenge continental liturgical practice.

To the above cycles from the Curtis and Wathey handlist, three cycles that appear to have an element of Englishness are added. The most obvious is the anonymous *Sine nomine* found on ff.113v–20 (CM15). As noted in chapter 5, this cycle seems very English indeed. Strohm has previously noted a similarity in to style to Frye's *So ys emprentid* Mass (M45).¹⁰³ The cycle has not only significant text deletion in the Credo, but also telescoping – a technique that appears only in

¹⁰³ Strohm (1985), 141.

cycles with a demonstrably close relationship to England, or that are English. Another element of indebtedness to English practice is the strict mensural scheme. There are also elements of continental style, however, since the internal proportions of the Kyrie seem to require the mensuration C and the mensural changes in the Agnus Dei appear in a position more usual in continental cycles. The impression that this may be a Mass that falls between the two repertories is enhanced by the presence of a bischematic textural groundplan.

The *Sine nomine* cycle on ff.122v–9 (CM16) is very similar. Not only is there significant text omission in the Credo, but also the Mass conforms to a bischematic textural plan. The use of English melodic material in this Mass has also been noted.¹⁰⁴ Finally, even one of the securely continental cycles appears to show the influence of English practice since Caron's *L'homme armé* (CM14) has the position of the mensural change in its Agnus at the point more usual in English cycles.

The English/English-influenced cycles in this manuscript appear to be spread through layers 1 and 2 of the manuscript but are often copied next to each other – the 'Two Kyries' and *So ys emprentid* Masses in layer 1 and the *Sine nomine* Masses in layer 2. In general, the manuscript has a surprising amount of music that demonstrates English influence or provenance. If Reynolds is correct in believing Caron to have been in

¹⁰⁴ *Missa Sine Nomine IV* [Online edition].

Rome, this may explain the very English placement of the mensural change in the Agnus of his *L'homme armé* cycle.

If the number of English cycles in this manuscript seems unusual, and the number of English-influenced cycles more so, then the number that are complete but without prosula Kyries is absolutely exceptional. The preservation of English cycles in most manuscripts gives a large number without any Kyrie in an otherwise complete Mass and also several with long but completely retexted Kyries. This absolutely does not happen in SPB80. Instead, in every case but one, the Masses chosen have non-prosula Kyries. In most cases, the Masses in question are undeniably short, non-festal cycles that would not have a prosula Kyrie even in the Sarum rite. However, *Thomas cesus* is very unusual since it should carry the text *Orbis factor*. Add to this the unique way in which the Kyrie of the 'Two Kyries' Mass is cut in half, and an impression of English and English-sounding cycles that seem specifically chosen to have short, non-prosula Kyries is given. An (admittedly speculative) explanation for this is that it was music utilised by the Hospital of St Thomas in Rome – an English institution on the continent and yet one that was likely to be more constrained in terms of its practice by its presence in Rome.

Conclusion

The *Thomas cesus* Mass (M52) seems unlikely to be English. It simply has too many continental features to be so neatly classified. However, it has

too many English features, especially the Sarum *cantus firmus*, to be understood in anything but an English context and, moreover, shares textural features with many other Masses of apparently mixed origin. Quite what the context was for this Mass's creation may never be known. Perhaps it was indeed intended for the Merchant Adventurers at Bruges. However, for now, the most plausible context seems to be offered by the Hospital of St Thomas in Rome. The fact that so much of SPB80 appears to have an English context, yet be carefully crafted so as to avoid liturgical impropriety, seems further to support this. None of this can yet be proved, but perhaps an archival search of the records of the Hospital of St Thomas will provide further evidence in this direction.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ See Harvey (2004), 55–76 for a discussion of many of the records of the Hospital.

Conclusion

England and Europe: New Directions and Perspectives

This thesis has sought to show that there were in reality a great many points – and indeed kinds – of contact between England and the continent in the fifteenth century. It seems moreover that this contact was very probably a two-way process, despite the paucity of continental music in English sources. Bedyngham, a composer who can plausibly be said never to have left England,¹ chose to base one of his two surviving Masses on a continental model. The other Mass also displays a good measure of continental influence and follows continental practices in many ways. Clearly, Bedyngham was touched and influenced by the practices of continental composers despite his apparently insular existence.

There were also many English composers working on the continent. Some of them, such as Morton and Hothby, are relatively well known today; others have been lost to history. More importantly, there were also clearly a number of significant English institutions on the continent, some of which had provision for polyphony. In terms of the more incidental, even ephemeral, points of contact, there is the evidence of the great many English chapels active in France during the Hundred Years War. Perhaps more important were the large émigré communities that grouped together as confraternities. These confraternities often had a chapel that would care for their spiritual needs, maintaining their identity and

¹ This is suggested by the fact that he is not mentioned by any continental theorists and his name is consistently misspelled (sometimes spectacularly – as in the case of 'Bedingham Langensteiss'). David Fallows has confirmed, in private correspondence, his view that Bedyngham never left England.

tradition, and at least sometimes utilising the Sarum rite. In the case of the Merchant Adventurers in Bruges, this chapel was endowed with spectacular polyphony and left at least one choirbook as testament to this. Perhaps the group of continental cycles from the Antwerp area that display English characteristics to an astonishing degree is similarly related to the chapel founded there. As suggested in chapter 6, it is even possible that the Hospital of St Thomas in Rome is similarly linked to parts of San Pietro B80.

With the varied array of cultural cross-fertilisation between England and Europe, it is perhaps not surprising that there are several Mass cycles which display both English and continental features. Some of these features are at the level of the musical, technical or aesthetic – the use of particular motifs or structural methods. Perhaps this is the best context within which to view Masses such as Le Rouge's *So ys emprentid* or Bedyngham's *Sine nomine*. Other Masses appear to betray liturgical features from outside of their own repertoire: the *Du cuer je souspier* and *Thomas cesus* Masses seem to fit best within these contexts since the former utilises a full prosula Kyrie whilst the latter is based on a Sarum *cantus firmus*.

By breaking down the polarisation between English and continental origin, it seems scholars can better understand the provenance and character of a great many Mass cycles. Works such as the Pullois Mass produce consternation amongst scholars only if the possibility of cultural

exchange and of Masses being composed through and within this process is not allowed. Indeed, as has been shown, there is only one indicator of English provenance that can truly be said to occur only in English Mass cycles. This is the application of an absolutely strict textural groundplan. However, this feature remains an exceptional practice – even within the English repertoire – and helps to determine the provenance of only a handful of Masses. Elements such as telescoping in the Credo, the use of extended nine-fold prosula Kyries and even the use of chants from the Sarum rite – each of which have been seen, at one point or another, as the last bastion of ‘English only’ techniques – can all be found in apparently continental works.

This is not to suggest that determining provenance should no longer be attempted. Techniques that certainly originated in England appear to have gradually filtered into the continental compositional palette at different rates. As a result, there are some features that seem to indicate Masses that have a demonstrably closer relationship to England. These features include precisely those noted above, the telescoped Credo, nine-fold prosula Kyrie and the use of Sarum chants. A good example of a Mass to include two of these elements is Ockeghem’s *Caput*. This cycle replicates the telescoped Credo and copies the Sarum plainchant, precisely due to the very close relationship it has with its English model. Le Rouge’s *So ys emprentid* is similar: it has a telescoped Credo and utilises an English secular song for its model. In this case, however, it is

Le Rouge's patron, Charles d'Orléans, who has the demonstrable relationship to England.

It is in precisely these terms that it seems best to see both *Du cuer je souspier* and *Thomas cesus*. Whether or not the narrative suggested above for the circumstances of their composition is accepted, it seems best to understand these cycles as lying somewhere on a spectrum that runs between purely English and purely continental origin. Both of these cycles can be located at different points on this spectrum. The *Du cuer je souspier* Mass has perhaps a more English flavour in terms of its structure and form, whereas *Thomas cesus* seems to have a more obvious English liturgical context, despite its many continental elements. Both cycles, therefore, could be seen fairly far towards the English end of the spectrum, but for different reasons. However, it should be realised that it would be telling only part of the story to suggest that either is English. Of course, it is impossible to offer a fully persuasive, or even plausible, context for every mass. Quite where the *Veni creator spiritus* Mass should be placed on this spectrum, for instance, is absolutely up for question – and it is important, too, to allow for individualism. Reducing the English style to a collection of stereotyped practices, features and structures would be to trivialise the repertory and those who created it. Even if there are clear trends in English compositional practice, Masses such as *Quem malignus spiritus* pushed at the boundaries of accepted practice to showcase a clearly very individual compositional voice.

In comparison to the *Du cuer je souspier* and *Thomas cesus* Mass cycles discussed above, there are many others that have less of a demonstrable relationship to England. Factors such as the application of strict mensural schemes, textural groundplans for structurally important sections, and the omission of a moderate number of textual sections from the Credo all became part of the continental repertoire. Whilst these elements may be more indicative of a closer relationship to English practice earlier in the century, they quickly became more usual and familiar in continental practice. In contradistinction to this, the 'English figure' appears to have become rather less commonly used on the continent after the 1450s.

In general, therefore, it is important to take account of the full range of liturgical, structural, formal, melodic, contrapuntal, source and biographical elements when attempting to determine the origin or context of a Mass cycle. Only by considering each of these in full might scholars be able to judge fairly and realistically the provenance of a Mass cycle, always keeping in mind that there are a great many contexts that allow for a mixed provenance. For those composers for whom biographical information is known, the discovery of unexpected influence may well have an effect on further scholarship and force new questions to be asked. It seems clear that Bedyngham was rather influenced by continental practice, for instance. This may serve to shed new light on his (seemingly) unusual choice of model in the *Dueil angoisseux* Mass.

The English experiment with the use of *cantus firmus* to give liturgical or devotional particularisation to the Ordinary of the Mass had many linked effects. In many ways, English cycles betray their origins with features that first developed from the practice of liturgical motets. Indeed, many points apparently indicative of English provenance or influence can be seen to have developed from the extensive use of pre-compositional groundplans. Continental cycles then often copy the visual traces of these English practices that, in their native land, had a real and practical purpose.

As well as work on provenance, this thesis has sought to refine the banding system proposed by Curtis and Wathey. Here, the ways in which compositional practice changed between the first and second third of the fifteenth century were demonstrated and some intermediate works that seemed to demonstrate this process of change were identified. There is still much work to be done here, but this is for a future project. Changes in compositional practice between bands II and III remain little understood and are seldom discussed. The comparatively large band II repertoire could also perhaps productively be further broken down and differentiated.

The prime stimuli for this thesis were the Curtis and Wathey handlist and EECM's fifteenth-century subseries. The thesis has sought to answer some of the questions that have arisen, both in terms of the specific provenance and history of particular works, and concerning the

more general problem of how to define English compositional practice within a larger field. It has not (and could not have) answered either of these questions in full, but it has (it is hoped) helped to give a more complete understanding of the extent of the question and the riches an extended and diversified picture of the activity of the time has to offer. To understand English music in this period is to understand it within a changing nexus of two-way cultural exchange with the continent. Indeed, the question of 'what is English' cannot truly be answered without also answering the question of 'what is continental' – and, moreover, what is the overall nature of the broader musical activity on which 'compositions' themselves depend? Clearly, some works remain relatively isolated within their own geographical repertoire groups, but it is obvious that there are a great many others that can only be truly understood as a product of this process of international exchange. It is hoped that these Masses, rather than being consigned to oblivion and kept simply within the ranks of unpublished and unedited works, may still be edited and performed as a part of (or at least an adjunct to) the English corpus. These works provide a window onto history, and open up an important historical process, shining a light on an outsider's (that is, an astute observer's) contemporary view of English habits and traditions. A great many of these works, it seems, can only be understood in relation to English practice – a practice which has had, and will continue to have, major importance in the ongoing history of European Art Music.

Excursus: Source Distribution, Cyclicity and the *Caput* Mass

The material of this excursus is closely related to chapter 2 but somewhat tangential to the main narrative. It can be read between chapter 2 and 3, or as a post-script to the rest of the thesis.

The overview of English Mass cycles given in appendix 1.2 demonstrates a clear change in attitude towards the concept of the Mass cycle around the time of Tr90-2 (1454/55–6). Before this, Wiser considered individual movements as separate, grouping them purely by liturgical type. Gerber has suggested that ‘as Wiser entered new works into Trent 90 and continued in Trent 88, he must have recognised that the Masses were cohesive works’ and copied them as continuous cycles.¹ This minimised the loss of sections in the copying of cycles into Tr90-2, Tr88 and Tr89 compared to Tr90-1 and earlier. Furthermore, Wiser appears to have taken pains to copy into the later manuscripts the missing movements from incomplete Masses copied into the earlier manuscripts.²

Power’s *Alma redemptoris mater* (M43) is unique since its four surviving movements are copied continuously into the main layer of Tr87 (c.1435–40) and also in Aosta. Whilst other band I cycles occasionally have paired movements copied alongside one another, this Mass is the first to have the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus copied in this manner before Tr90-2. This suggests that the concept of the Mass as a discrete cycle did exist for some scribes on the continent before Tr90-2. As noted

¹ *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 8.

² *Ibid.*

in chapter 1, Power was on the continent with the Duke of Clarence in the 1420s and possibly remained there during the 1430s with the Duke of Bedford. This likely resulted in Power's quotation of Binchois in one of his motets. As was noted in the introduction, Power's *Alma redemptoris mater* Mass prefigured the later copying of complete Mass cycles. Perhaps his presence on the continent was, in some way, responsible.

Wiser's copying of the movements missing from cycles in Tr90 into Tr88 must question some of the current beliefs regarding the continental dissemination of the *Caput* Mass (M7). Six English Mass cycles appear to bear witness to this practice, five from band II and one from band I. Of these, *Caput* (M7), the anonymous *Sine nomine* (M55) and *Fuit homo missus* (M56) add only those movements that were missing in earlier manuscripts. There are important differences between these three cycles and those that appear to re-copy some or all movements that were copied earlier.

Fuit homo missus (M56) is the only band I Mass to have its missing movements copied into Tr88 or even to be copied as late as this. This supports the arguments made in chapter 3 that this is a band Ib work. Perhaps Wiser believed this Mass to be more stylistically up-to-date than other band I Masses or perhaps the missing movements of these were simply not available. Of course, both the *Sine nomine* (M4) and *Salve sancta parens* (M21) Masses are almost complete in the earlier Trent codices, missing only their Kyries – the movement least likely to be found anyway.

Two of the three Masses to be completed in Tr88 share important features that demonstrate Wiser's change in approach to copying Mass cycles. The internal movements of the *Caput* and *Fuit homo missus* Masses (M7 and M56) are copied into Tr93/90, well apart from each other, in the appropriate liturgical sections. In Tr88, Wiser copied only the Kyrie and Agnus of both cycles. Crucially, in both cases, the Agnus directly follows the Kyrie, showing that Wiser saw them as part of a discrete work.

In the contrasting example of Bedyngham's *Sine nomine* (M15) Wiser re-copies the whole Mass into Tr88, including the three movements found in Tr93, apparently disproving the above thesis. However, as the three movements in Tr93 are not in Tr90, this Mass must have been copied into Tr93 only after work had begun on Tr90. Therefore, Wiser had not had access to the earlier movements of this Mass before Tr88 and was not repeating the movements.³ This clearly supports the thesis that Wiser copied only new movements to 'complete' the cycles he already had preserved in Tr90.

This thesis is further supported by Wiser's handling of those movements he first copied into Tr90-2. From this time, he copied cycles together in their entirety, when available. However, Wiser copied Bedyngham's *Dueil angoisseux* Mass (M54) as a Gloria-Credo pair in Tr90-

³ Moreover, there are differences between the versions transmitted in Tr93-1 and Tr88 (see for example the cadential formula of the second cadence in the discantus), which may suggest that the Tr88 version came from a different exemplar. The different figuration at cadences could also simply be a sign of scribal changes from the same exemplar.

2, suggesting that it reached him in this form. These movements are then repeated in Tr88 when Wiser copies the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus and Benedicamus. The cycle is not copied as a unit, however. The Kyrie-Gloria-Credo, Sanctus-Agnus and Benedicamus form three separate sections, suggesting that Wiser did not consider these movements to constitute a cycle, and therefore repeated the previously copied movements.⁴

Moreover, Wiser utilised a different, demonstrably English exemplar, for the movements copied into Tr90-2. There are substantial differences between the Tr90-2 movements and the versions in Tr88, including an additional voice in the Tr90-2 Credo. Most significantly, Wiser copies a passage into the manuscript in English black notation and follows this with his interpretation of the passage and the phrase 'tantum valet' ('which means as much').⁵

The Tr88 version, by contrast, seems to have been copied from a continental exemplar that had already grappled with the challenges of translating English scribal practice. Duet sections in English manuscripts were often not indicated with rests, resulting in an apparently random number of rests being inserted by continental scribes. In Tr88, the scribe has instead added the words 'Pleni vacat' ('The Pleni is not present [in this part]') in the *tacet* voice during a duet. Gerber has suggested, since these text indications are not necessary in Tr88, that Wiser copied the

⁴ This seems to demonstrate a conscious attempt at not repeating material between Tr90 and Tr88. As Gerber has noted, Wiser generally makes every attempt to avoid duplicating material, only doing so eleven times in total; see Gerber (1992), 8.

⁵ *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 45.

indications from his exemplar.⁶ It would seem that the exemplar therefore must have been continental.

Perhaps the Tr90 exemplar being English and the Tr88 exemplar continental is partially responsible for Wiser not considering the movements part of the same cycle. The polyphonic *Benedicamus* probably further confused matters since this type of movement is included in the Sarum rite only when a non-prosula Kyrie is used.⁷

Wiser copies no movement into Tr88 or Tr89 that he could have believed was part of a cycle in earlier manuscripts. The three cycles that appear to have repeated movements (the anonymous *Sine nomine* (M50), Tik's *Sine nomine* (M35) and *Caput* (M7)) prove to have a good explanation for this repetition. The 'Two Kyries Mass' (M50) is complete in Tr88 but the Gloria was copied into Tr90-2. Since only the Gloria is copied into Tr90-2, Wiser clearly did not have access to the rest of the cycle or he would have copied it. Therefore, he was probably not aware, when a complete cycle became available, that he had copied its Gloria as a single movement in an earlier manuscript. The Tr90-2 Gloria is quite distinct from the Tr88 version, often having longer notes and significantly more ligature groupings and it is likely they came from different exemplars.⁸

Tik's *Sine nomine* (M35) is similar; only the Sanctus is found in Tr90-2, and it was probably considered a single movement. Finally, the

⁶ *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent*, 45. Wiser's tendency sometimes to copy in a rather mechanical manner has been noted elsewhere in this thesis and is discussed in Bent (1981), 311 and Wright (1989), 307–11.

⁷ Andrew Kirkman, 'Innovation, Stylistic Patterns and the Writing of History: The Case of Bedyngham's Mass *Dueil Angoisieux*' in *I Codici Musicali Trentini Nuove Scoperte e Nuovi Orientamenti della Ricerca*, Peter Wright (ed.) (Trent, 1994), 153.

⁸ For more on the extremely unusual filiation of this Mass see Kirkman (1994A), 180–99.

copying of the entirety of the *Caput* Mass in Tr89 was carried out by scribe 89B rather than Wiser (though it was, admittedly, texted by him).

Taking into account the apparent practice of 'completion' of Mass cycles within the Trent codices, some current beliefs about the *Caput* Mass (M7) should be questioned. Strohm has suggested that the transmission of the *Caput* Mass to the continent may have occurred in stages, the outer movements of the Mass reaching the continent only c.1463 in connection with the copying of the Lucca Choirbook and the copying of the Kyrie of the Mass at Cambrai Cathedral, under the direction of Du Fay.⁹ A slightly different version of events is proposed here.

The omission of movements in sources prior to Tr90-2 is not unusual and certainly does not require the explanation of certain movements being unavailable. In the process of copying separate movements into the appropriate sections of a manuscript, a complete Mass was seldom copied. Indeed, there are no Kyries from English Mass cycles found in Tr93 or Tr90, and the lack of one for the *Caput* Mass should be regarded as absolutely normal.

As discussed above, Wiser began to consider Mass cycles as discrete works by the time he copied Tr90-2 and made every attempt to add to new sources those movements missing in earlier ones. This seems to be

⁹ *FCLM*, VI, 37. Strohm does, however, make a similar argument to that detailed above, suggesting that the Kyrie and Agnus were copied into Tr88 precisely because they were missing in Tr90 (see Reinhard Strohm, 'Quellenkritische Untersuchungen an der Missa "Caput"', in *Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance II: Datierung und Filiation von Musikhandschriften der Josquin-Zeit*, Ludwig Finscher (ed.) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 161).

the clear context for the copying of the Kyrie and Agnus of the *Caput* Mass.

It seems from the aforementioned examples that Wiser actively sought new sources for missing movements. This is the case for the *Caput* Mass (M7), since the new movements may have come from a different exemplar to those movements in Tr93/90. Strohm has done much work on the apparent source filiation of this Mass and notes that Tr93 and Tr88 clearly follow divergent traditions. He also suggests, following Bent, that the Tr93 version is the basis for the Tr90 copy, though there are some clear differences.

More problematically, he suggests that the Tr90 version of the Mass may be partially dependent on Tr88.¹⁰ This suggestion clearly flies in the face of the accepted chronology. Tr90-1, the portion of Tr90 that contains the *Caput* Mass (M7), has a *terminus ante quem* of 1454/5, whilst Tr88 has a *terminus post quem* of 1456. Furthermore, Tr90 and Tr88 share no movements so it is hard to see what could have been copied from one source to the other.

Strohm's argument that Tr88 may have informed the version of *Caput* in Tr90 presumably rests on the shared ligature type (though this is not explicit). In Tr93, a standard version of the ligature is used but this is replaced through correction with a rare version in Tr90 – a variant also used in the Lucca Choirbook and Tr88.

¹⁰ *FCLM*, VI, 35. This is not suggested in the filiation table given in Strohm (1983), 168.

However, the rhythmisation of the *cantus firmus* displays no such influence. The Lucca tradition presents the *cantus firmus* in a different rhythm to each of the Trent versions but there are no such differences in rhythm between Tr93 and Tr90,¹¹ giving no evidence that Tr90 is a conflation of the Tr93 and Lucca/Tr88 traditions. By contrast, Tr89, which does depend on other versions, corrects a rhythmic infidelity from the B section of the *cantus firmus* found in the Credo in Tr93/Tr90.¹²

An easier explanation for the change in ligature between Tr93 and Tr90 rests on Wiser's scribal practice, since he is known for rather slavish copying during the compilation of Tr90.¹³ If, having checked the exemplar to Tr93, he found the ligature to be of an unusual type, he would likely have copied it exactly in his corrections, lacking the confidence to realise that the earlier scribe B of Tr93 had translated the ligature into the closest form with which he was familiar.

Strohm notes that the mensuration and ligature usage in Tr88 suggest the proximity of its exemplar to an English source – perhaps the London fragment. It is possible that this exemplar was later used for Lucca. As has been shown, Wiser recopies movements into Tr88 only when he fails to realise that they formed a cycle. Therefore, all movements may well have been available to Wiser when he chose to copy only the Kyrie and Agnus Dei. However, the Kyrie of the Tr88 and Lucca versions are markedly different and it therefore seems that there were

¹¹ *FCLM*, VI, 35.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Also responsible for his copying of the redundant scribal reactions to English practice in the *Duell angoisseux* Mass (M54).

three complete versions of the Mass closely related to English versions, one that was used as an exemplar for Tr93 and again (with Tr93) for Tr90, one used by Wiser to 'complete' the cycle in Tr88 and one in Bruges for the copying of the Lucca Choirbook. In Trent 89, scribe 89B appears to have collated all the movements from 93/90 and 88 into a single cycle.

Conclusions

If the multi-layered nature of many fifteenth-century manuscripts is taken into account, the current view of the cyclic Mass repertory is enhanced. It becomes clear that the scribal approach to the copying of Mass cycles begins to change c.1455, shortly after the first band II cycles reached the continent. This new approach led to the copying of Mass cycles as discrete works for which each of the movements would be copied alongside one another. This evidence in turn challenges the assumption that the outer movements of the *Caput* Mass (M7) reached the continent after the rest of the Mass. It now seems that this was probably not the case. Further, it suggests that Wiser actively sought out new sources to complete his Mass cycles, thereby demonstrating just how many exemplars of some of the English repertoire must have been available on the continent.

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